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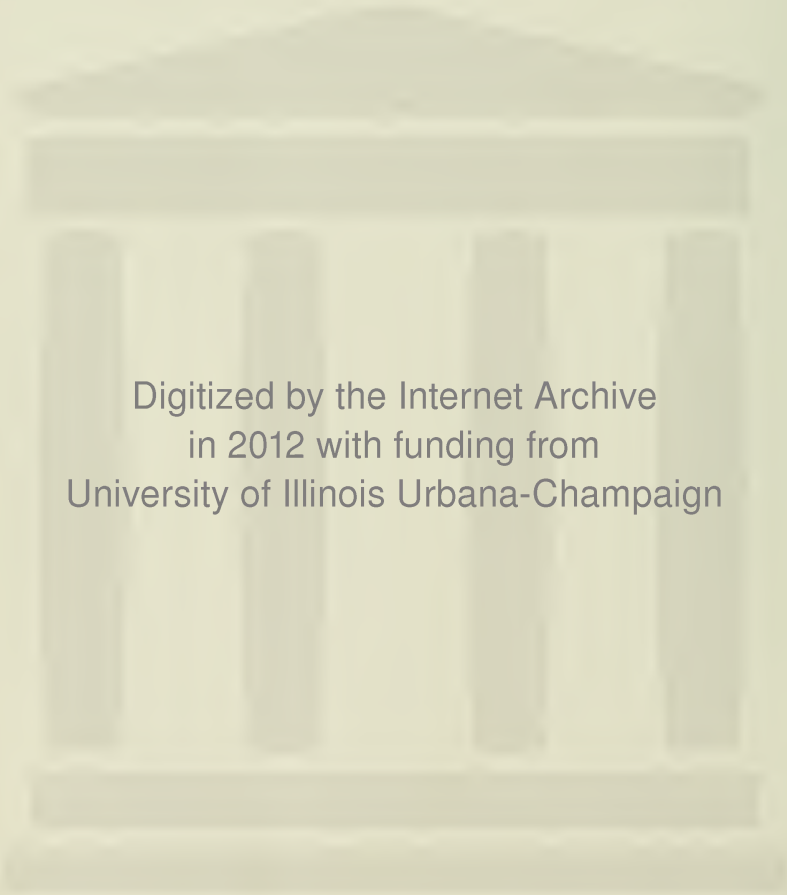
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Portrait Bust of Henry Hamilton, With His Wife  
and Daughter.

HENRY HAMILTON *and*  
GEORGE ROGERS CLARK  
*in the American Revolution*

*with*

*The* UNPUBLISHED JOURNAL *of*  
Lieut. Gov. HENRY HAMILTON

*edited by*

John D. Barnhart



R. E. BANTA, *Crawfordsville, Indiana*, 1951



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To  
JAMES ALTON JAMES

## AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Many persons and institutions by their help and advice place the author under obligations which can be acknowledged with pleasure but cannot be repaid. The Houghton Library of Harvard University released the Henry Hamilton manuscripts for publication and William A. Jackson and staff were very helpful in supplying photostats of and information about them. The Caxton Club of Chicago had planned to publish the Hamilton Journal but agreed to permit me to proceed when my interest became evident. I am indebted to Herman D. Smith and John Merryweather in this change of plans. My visit to the Public Archives of Canada was marked by the thoughtful, friendly, and efficient service of its staff, particularly the Honorable Norman Fee, then Acting Dominion Archivist, Miss N. Story of the Manuscript Division, and A. J. H. Richardson of the Map Division. More recently the Honorable William Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, has made additional material available by means of microfilm. Colton Storm, Assistant Director, and Margaret Larson, Assistant Curator of Maps and Manuscripts, of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, assisted me with the manuscript and map collections in that library. Elleine H. Stones and Milo M. Quaife of the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library were also very cooperative. The counsel of Dr. Quaife has been deeply appreciated. Solon J. Buck, Chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress and C. H. Minns of the British Museum made available material from their respective institutions. Dr. Otto O. Fisher loaned me two Hamilton Letters from his private collection. Carl and Erminie Voegelin advised me in respect to Indian ceremonials.

R. Carlyle Buley and Laurens J. Mills, colleagues at Indiana University, and R. E. Banta of Crawfordsville, Indiana, helped to make my introduction more readable. Miss Elfrieda Lang of the Indiana Magazine of History checked and typed my manuscript.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## *Henry Hamilton's Early Life*

THE most dramatic and significant event of the American Revolution in the West was the capture of Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton of Detroit by tough young George Rogers Clark at Vincennes on February 24th, 1779.

The daring exploit which made Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton the prisoner of Lieutenant Colonel Clark caught the fancy of all America; the small number of the red-headed Virginian's troops, the hardships they endured, the courage they exhibited, and the completeness of their triumph have furnished inspiration for novelists, painters, and sculptors, as well as historians.

Clark's campaign against the British on the Wabash has been the subject of two or three successful novels and of dozens of articles and monographs. His papers have been published by the Illinois Historical Library under the editorship of James Alton James, who is also the author of the best biography of Clark.<sup>1</sup>

Quite naturally Americans, chiefly interested in their own hero, have given only superficial study to the man they regard as the villain of the piece. In this neglect of Hamilton—usually

called the "Hair-Buyer General"—they have failed to utilize the journal which Hamilton kept on his expedition from Detroit to Vincennes, during his loss to Clark of the Old Post on the Wabash, and as he was taken, a prisoner of the Colonials, from Vincennes to Williamsburg, Virginia. Although the "Journal" contains much information about Clark and the conditions which contributed to his victory, it has until now remained unpublished.

When Clark endeavored to defend the infant settlements of Kentucky from Indian raids by striking at the centers of British control north and west of the Ohio River, he was trying to check the bands of Indians and white leaders sent out by Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton of Detroit. When Clark secured authority, supplies, and money from Virginia, raised a small body of soldiers in southwestern Pennsylvania, and moved down the Ohio River to capture Kaskaskia on the Mississippi, July 4, 1778, it was Hamilton who mobilized a little army of English regulars, French volunteers, and Indian chiefs and warriors to oppose him. Coming to Vincennes by way of the Maumee and Wabash rivers, he was captured by Clark on February 24, 1779, and sent as a prisoner to Williamsburg, where he was confined until October, 1780.

Perhaps Hamilton's career, aside from his encounter with Clark, can be reduced to a few simple facts. First, he was a descendant of a noble Scottish family with a record of service in government and in the army which dates back to the time of Mary Queen of Scots. Secondly, he was an army man in the French and Indian War, and, like many other servicemen away from home, he was very observant of the women he saw. He was also an office-holder, for he served first as lieutenant-governor of Detroit and then of Quebec, and as governor of Bermuda and finally of Dominica. He was an amateur artist who made sketches of beautiful and striking scenes and of interesting men. In reporting to his superior officials he penned important documents, some of which are all but unknown.

If his family is traced back to the fifteenth century, a Sir James Hamilton is found, who was the husband of Mary, a sister of James III of Scotland and a great-great-aunt of Mary Queen of Scots. Their grandson, another James Hamilton, was governor of Scotland during the minority of Mary Queen of Scots. In his life-

time and that of his sons, Claud and John, there was a possibility that the Hamilton family might gain the throne. The youngest son of Claud, Sir Frederick, became the first Baron Paisley and governor of Ulster. The latter position took him to northern Ireland, a change of family residence that resulted in Henry's being born in Ireland a century later. A son of Frederick became a distinguished military officer in the forces of William III of England, was raised to the king's privy council, and became Viscount Boyne in the Irish peerage.

The father of Henry, who was the third son of Viscount Boyne, was a member of the Irish Parliament and a collector of the port of Cork. It is likely that Henry and his father were not so vigorous and able men as their ancestors, but they must have felt some satisfaction that they were descended from men who were associated with William III of England, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, and Mary Queen of Scots.<sup>2</sup>

The educational opportunities offered to Henry were those which might be expected in a family such as his. He wrote that his mother encouraged him to read works of travel, history, and literature; that a French teacher corrected his pronunciation; and that he spent his vacations in learning to fence, draw, and dance. He admitted, however, that his enjoyment of Latin and Greek was gained through the reading of translations of Horace, Vergil, and Ovid. In school he was often flogged, and, although he was frank enough to say that he always deserved the punishment, he decided to join the forces rather than submit to continued embarrassment.

His army life began at the age of twenty-one when he received a commission as an ensign in the Fifteenth Regiment of Foot. As a young officer he traveled over Ireland, Wales, and England, and a little later in Canada and the American Colonies. He managed to visit London where he saw King George II, George Frederick Handel, and David Garrick; and shortly after the beginning of the Seven Years' War he met James Wolfe whom he recognized as a man of heroic qualities.

During his military career and in leisure moments while holding political office in later years he utilized the knowledge of drawing which he had acquired as a youth to sketch landscapes and portraits, nearly forty of which have been preserved. Some

were hurriedly done and others were left unfinished, but a few show some merit. The time and care he expended in surrounding them with elaborate borders indicate that he enjoyed making the sketches. Among the best are eight small drawings of Indians, two of which depict the subjects with refined features, but the sketch of the Iroquois Chief Atcheek shows him with rough features and unkempt hair.<sup>3</sup>

In 1758, the third year of the conflict which Americans call the French and Indian War, Hamilton was ordered to America, where he served in Wolfe's command. His regiment trained at Halifax and there his acquaintance with the American Indian began. The immediate goal of the English troops under Jeffery Amherst was Louisburg, the French fortress on Cape Breton Island. Hamilton's regiment participated in the landing, June 8, 1758, but during the siege of the fort he was wounded in the hand and witnessed the remainder of the contest as a spectator. He had become, however, a soldier with experience in actual fighting.

His regiment returned to Halifax for the winter, but Hamilton was permitted to visit the English Colonies to the southwestward in search of a climate in which his hand would heal more rapidly. The colonists impressed him as naive, simple, kindly, and uncorrupted, but when he wrote his "Autobiography" after the Revolution, he remarked that "this respectable innocence" was no more, and that a corruption of manners had begun. The latter judgment was probably colored by the treatment he received much later in the prison at Williamsburg, Virginia, and is, therefore, no more accurate than his early enthusiasm. When spring came he sailed back to Halifax, whence his hero, James Wolfe, was to lead the British soldiers in an attack on Quebec.

After a voyage up the St. Lawrence, which Hamilton enjoyed, the fleet reached the Isle of Orleans in safety, and an initial landing was made with little difficulty. When a violent storm failed to destroy the British fleet, the French tried fireships, an ordeal which, also, the English survived. Among the French, who resisted the efforts of the invaders, were some Indians who committed offenses which the British regarded as barbarities and atrocities. Wolfe's demand that they cease was respected by the French Governor, Marquis de Vaudreuil. Hamilton was with the troops



that made the unsuccessful attack on Quebec near the Montmorency River. He was also a participant but was not in the thick of the battle on the Heights of Abraham when the fate of North America was decided and the two great leaders sealed the decision with their lives.<sup>4</sup>

Hamilton spent the winter with the English troops in the town of Quebec, where he endured the severity of the harsh climate and the hardships involved in the restoration of the city and the procurement of food, fuel, clothing, and ammunition in the face of opposition by an active enemy. In the spring the British forces met the French at Saint Foy, April 28, 1760, and Hamilton was taken prisoner. His captors had him put on a French coat because of danger from the Indians who were fighting with them and against the English. "Shortly after this we prisoners were marched ostentatiously thro' the Indian encampment, where I saw not without a very unpleasant feeling, the Savages employed some in scraping and dressing Englishmens Scalps, others in whetting their Knives and Tomahawks." Since he recorded this experience with the Indians, he could not plead innocent of the knowledge that their methods of fighting included the use of the tomahawk and the scalping knife when he directed Indian warfare at Detroit during the American Revolution.

The references in his "Autobiography" and "Journal" to women he saw while in the army seem quite discreet, but they do reveal him as a military man likely to sit about the campfire and tell stories with his fellow officers. Wherever he went he had an eye for the women and for dramatic encounters between the sexes, and in his travels as a young officer about Ireland, Wales, England, Canada, and the Colonies he wrote brief notes about them. At Reading, England, he recorded, "Beautiful women there," and "an engaging Partner." Later, as the troops left Wales, a "blooming creature" set aside decorum, broke through the ranks, threw her arms about her lover's neck, and in a passion of tears betrayed the "blushing boldness of imperious love." He saw the seamy side of military life, but like a good army man, he attributed it to the sailors who, he wrote, washed their stockings in claret, offended the purity of old women, and violated the laws of decorum with young ones.



After the capture of Louisburg he commented, "having been introduced to some of the French ladies I made more progress in the language in six weeks than I should have done under a Master in as many Months. My time was not heavy on my hands, I sketched Rocks & Trees & Ships, had some books & exercise enough."

When he visited the Colonies, he traveled from Boston to Providence, to New York and Philadelphia, and wrote about the beauty of the American ladies. "At an assembly [in Boston] I saw much beauty, and much decorum . . . From Boston by land to Providence Rhode Island—pleasant Country The women of the lower class tall well shaped unconfined . . . We passed to Newport, . . . the mention of that place reminds me of . . . the beauty of the women . . ."

When housed in a convent in Quebec after the city was in the possession of the English, he marveled at the self-denial, generosity, firmness, obedience, and constancy of the Nuns, but he also saved one of them from disgrace by dramatically destroying the note of an indiscreet young officer.<sup>5</sup>

While in Detroit and on his campaign to Vincennes, he collected a few Indian stories which he wrote on the extra pages of his "Journal." "An Indian woman who had passed a very dangerous rapid in a canoe, was found drunk lying in the bottom of it, having drunk a whole bottle of Rum—being asked how she could drink so much, she answered as well as she could find words, that surely it was too much but that [she] had never expected to escape with her life, & 'twould have been pity the rum should have been lost."<sup>6</sup>

One other may be repeated. "An Ottawa who was very fond of another man's wife, who also had a passion for him, was one day soliciting her strongly to gratify his desires, but she refused him and ran away to hide herself. The Indian in a frantic fit of amorous rage pursues her, and with his knife gives her a desperate wound—He then painted himself with vermillion, and began to sing his own Death Song thro' the Village, leading a horse by the bridle that he valued very highly. After this ceremony he shoots the horse and finally stabbed himself, presuming probably, that since in this world he could not enjoy his Mistress, he would

send her before him to the other, out of reach of her husband, whither he meant to follow immediately not forgetting to make his favorite horse one of the party.”<sup>7</sup>

Among his pencil sketches was one of the Falls of the Passaic in New Jersey. In the corner of the picture he drew two small figures, one an Indian woman struggling in the river to reach the shore. Her husband, who had thrown her in, stood on the shore with tomahawk raised and ready to strike. He had already cut off one of her arms to prevent her reaching land.

The offices to which Hamilton was appointed indicate that the British government regarded him as a capable public servant in places that were of some importance. He was the lieutenant-governor of Detroit from April 7, 1775 until he became a prisoner of Virginia and the government named another in his place. After his release from prison, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Quebec in 1782. When Governor Frederick Haldimand left America, November 15, 1784, Hamilton became governor *ad interim* until his recall a year later. In Quebec he did not get along well with Governor Haldimand and his recall was due to the request of that official. Recently his services have been more highly evaluated than formerly, because he strove to bring about a greater economic development of the province, particularly in transportation, and sided with the growing English elements in the population rather than the French, who were still the more numerous group.<sup>8</sup> Early in 1787 he became governor of Bermuda, a post which he held until 1794 or 1795 and which was probably a more important position than most Americans realize today. He also served as governor of Dominica for a year or more before his death in 1796.

Hamilton's experiences as lieutenant-governor of Detroit were affected in a significant manner by two developments which were beyond his power to control. They were the declining interest of the British home administration in colonial matters and the outbreak of the American Revolution. Although he was an official in a distant post where most developments were relatively insignificant, his activities illustrate the weakness of the administration before and during the Revolution. Viewed from another angle, the failure of Hamilton to overcome George Rogers Clark

was not merely a personal defeat for Hamilton and a personal victory for Clark, but in a larger sense it was a part of the greater failure of the British as a colonizing power.

Following their acquisition of the French colonies the British political leaders did not show much knowledge or appreciation of America. The failure of their policies along the Atlantic coast led to the American Revolution, their unrealistic procedure in the West gave Pontiac his chance, and their declining enthusiasm for colonial possessions led to a temporary abandonment of England's great opportunity in the interior of North America. The Proclamation of 1763 came to be considered as fixing a fairly permanent division of the continent between the colonists and the Indians, petitions for authority to establish colonies in the interior were rejected, Fort Chartres in the Illinois Country and Fort Pitt at the head of the Ohio were abandoned, and General Thomas Gage ordered the residents of Vincennes to evacuate the town.<sup>9</sup>

The Quebec Act of June 22, 1774, which provided for the provincial government in which Hamilton served as an official, was in some respects a reversal of the previous trend. Intended to pacify the French Canadians, it restored to them French civil law and the right to worship according to the tenets of the Roman Catholic church. In deference to their wishes they were to be governed by a governor and a council rather than an elective assembly which had been provided by the Proclamation of 1763. The act was also intended to make unnecessary the creation of a new interior province; it added to Quebec the territory between the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Great Lakes, and placed it under the governor of Canada, Guy Carleton.<sup>10</sup>

This vast region, however, could not be left without officials, and instructions issued to Governor Carleton on January 3, 1775, provided for four lieutenant-governors, to be stationed at Detroit, Vincennes on the lower Wabash, Kaskaskia on the east bank of the Mississippi, and Michilimackinac at the juncture of lakes Huron and Michigan. Edward Abbott was appointed to the post at Vincennes. There he built Fort Sackville, but when he realized the nature of his assignment and the limited financial support he was to receive, he left the isolated village. He feared to meet the Indians on their return from their winter hunt because under the

unrealistic policy of the British he had not been supplied with presents to give them as the French had done. The lieutenant-governor appointed for the Illinois post did not even leave England, and the last British officer at Kaskaskia appointed Phillippe François Rastel, Sieur de Rocheblave, a Frenchman, to take charge. Major Arent S. DePeyster, a New York Loyalist, was at Michilimackinac through 1774-1779, in command of a small garrison, and Patrick Sinclair was the lieutenant-governor. At Detroit, in addition to Hamilton, there was a commandant of the garrison, Captain Richard B. Lernoult. These officials and their subordinate officers were a mere corporal's guard, but they were expected to hold the great interior of the continent for England.<sup>11</sup>

At the time Hamilton was appointed it was expected that other officials, including a judge, assessor, and a sheriff, were to be assigned to Detroit. But the appointments were not made, and some of his difficulties at Detroit were caused by the lack of a regularly appointed judge. Furthermore, Hamilton lacked authority over the troops in the garrison, a fact which occasioned a dispute with the local commander and which affected his conduct of Indian warfare and later his position at Vincennes. The disorders and confusion caused by the Revolution were at least partially responsible for these failures.

The Revolution was also responsible for the chief tasks which Hamilton undertook as lieutenant-governor of Detroit—the direction of Indian warfare on the western frontiers and the command of an expedition against George Rogers Clark. Hamilton's journey to Detroit coincided with the beginning of military conflict, for he was appointed lieutenant-governor on April 7, 1775, and the battles of Lexington and Concord occurred on April 19. He arrived at Detroit on November 9, and on November 12 Montreal was captured by his old friend, Richard Montgomery, who had become a leader in the rebel or patriot forces.

For a time Hamilton was with Governor Carleton at Montreal when he was defending the city against the Americans. Hamilton wrote of his experience and of Carleton's coolness: "At the time General Carleton thought proper to send me up [to Detroit], the Rebels had entered Canada, and I crossed the Island of Montreal in a Canadian dress, and got the fourth day in a wooden



Canoe to Oswegatchy, unprovided with (I may say) every thing. I was exceedingly struck by the unmoved temper and Firmness of the General. Tho' deserted by the most ungrateful race under the sun, tho' a General without Troops, and at the Eve of quitting Montreal to give entrance to lawless Rebels, his mind appeared unshaken, and he gave his orders for the Posts with apparent unconcern, tho' most undoubtedly he was wrung to the soul."<sup>12</sup>

Before the Lieutenant-Governor's major tasks could be undertaken, there were minor ones to be performed. Since this was a time of war, he must look after the defense of Detroit. As soon as he arrived at his station, he began to repair the ships of the little fleet that were required to bring supplies, ammunition, and presents for the Indians. These things were hard to obtain for Detroit was dependent upon Quebec for commerce as well as for governmental supervision. Hamilton also strengthened the fort and blockhouses which he found in a dilapidated state. He described this stronghold as "A stockade 1200 Paces in extent, fortified with 11 Block houses and Batteries, [which] would require for its defence a larger garrison than two Companies, but as there is at present a Ditch with fraising nearly compleated on two sides of the citadel, some men could be spared to the weaker parts. The Stockades which are of cedar 15 feet high, are mostly new, and the artificers among the Soldiery and Inhabitants are employed in the construction of new Block houses and Batteries."<sup>13</sup>

A picture of the little community which he governed was penned by Hamilton in 1776. "The backwardness in the improvement of farming has probably been owing to the easy and lazy method of procuring bare necessities in this Settlement—Wood was at hand, the Inhabitants therefore neglected to raise stone and burn lime which is to be had at their doors—The straight [Detroit River] (which at the Town of Detroit is 1000 yards over) is so plentifully stocked with variety of fine fish that a few hours amusement may furnish several families, yet not one French family has got a seine—Hunting and fowling afford food to numbers who are nearly as lazy as the Savages, who are rarely prompted to the chace [*sic*] till hunger pinches them. The soil is so good that great crops are raised by careless & very ignorant farmers, Wheat, Indian Corn, Barley, Oats, Pease, Buck Wheat



yield a great increase . . . . As to the Climate, tis by far the most agreeable I have ever known . . . .

"The number of [white] Settlers . . . is about 1500. They build on the borders of the Straight, and occupy about 13 miles in length on the North, and 8 on the South side—the houses are all of Log or frame Work, shingled, the most have their orchard adjoining, [and] the appearance of the Settlement is very smiling . . . . Regulations for the trade with the Indians are either not generally known, or not duly enforced . . . ." <sup>14</sup>

The regulation of the fur trade with the Indians, always a difficult undertaking, became more exacting during the war. Hamilton wrote that in the Indian trade silver trinkets were cheapened with copper. He accused a Jonas Schindler of selling debased silver, but a jury acquitted him. Hamilton then ordered him drummed out of town, but Schindler took refuge in the citadel and was protected by the officer in temporary command of the troops. The officer was reported as saying there might be oppression in the town but not in the fort, and that he would report the matter to some of the first men in England. The breach was not repaired between Hamilton and the commandant before the latter was replaced in September, 1777. <sup>15</sup>

Efforts to regulate the traders, which were at the bottom of the Schindler difficulty, occasioned Hamilton additional trouble. Garret Graverat, an Albany trader who settled in Detroit, was compelled to give bail of £400 and promise that he would not "correspond with, carry intelligence to, or supply any of his Majesty's Enemies," or do "anything Determental [*sic*] to this settlement in Particular, or against any of his Majesty's good subjects, during the space of one year and one day . . . ." <sup>16</sup> On another occasion Hamilton fined two men \$200 each for sending goods to Sandusky without a pass, and one of the traders made a successful appeal to the Attorney General at Quebec. Hamilton, however, wrote to Governor Frederick Haldimand, who succeeded Carleton in 1778, "The necessity . . . of obliging the traders to a compliance of the regulations of this Post, agreeable to the Tenor of Sir Guy Carleton's passports, obliges me (with all due deference and respect to Mr. Attorney General's opinion in writing) to persist in this strict treatment of Traders who act against orders,

as to my knowledge the Enemies of the Crown are supply'd or have been from this place, proofs of which I am possess'd of."<sup>17</sup>

The absence of a judge was also a serious matter, particularly because Hamilton's commission as a conservator of the peace did not arrive for two years. The only person with any judicial authority was Philip Dejean, whose commission had not been renewed as required by a recent law. Nevertheless when a murder was committed, Hamilton brought the offender before Judge Dejean, who sentenced him to death. Both Hamilton and Dejean were seriously criticized for this procedure, but they were under the necessity of acting in this manner or of freeing the criminal, for he could not have been sent through the rebel lines at Montreal.<sup>18</sup>

Another trial led to the hanging of a certain Jean Contencinau for grand larceny. This time the offender was convicted by a jury and the penalty was the one provided by law, but the legal right of the judge was denied by Hamilton's critics. Apparently the hangman was a Negro girl who was pardoned for her part in the robbery in return for her services at the execution.<sup>19</sup>

A grand jury in Montreal, after the city passed again into British control, indicted Hamilton and Dejean for their irregular proceedings in these trials. Before they were prosecuted, however, the matter was referred to Lord George Germain, the Secretary of State in charge of the colonies, and Governor Haldimand wrote, "I am well convinced he acted with the best intentions for the King's Service & the security of that part of the Province committed to his immediate charge." Germain thought the indictment was probably due to jealousy and ordered the proceedings to be quashed if the chief justice felt that the criminals were guilty. The indictment was set aside.<sup>20</sup>

Clarence M. Burton, Milo M. Quaife, and James A. James have seen in these events an explanation for Hamilton's expedition to Vincennes.<sup>21</sup> They assume that he feared punishment for his high-handed and tyrannical measures and was eager to reinstate himself in favor by some kind of military success. There are several reasons for not accepting this interpretation: his actions were probably not more arbitrary than conditions required, his connections apparently assured him of fair treatment, and he may not have learned of the indictment until after his departure from De-

troit. From Ouiatenon, he wrote, December 4, 1778, to Haldimand,

"A letter from Mr. Gray, the deputy sheriff at Montreal, acquaints me that some legal process has been commenced against Mr. Dejean for acting under my direction in regard to criminal matters. I beg leave to recommend him to your Excellency's protection as a man who has created enemies by doing his duty, and who has had the misfortune to fall from good circumstances into indigence.

"I hope I shall alone be responsible for any malversation of his, as he has only acted by my order, and I have reason to be satisfied with his behavior as an honest man and loyal subject.

"Should any complaints against myself be lodged judicially, I am perfectly at ease, persuaded your Excellency will allow me to vindicate my conduct without encountering the *Chicane* of the Law."<sup>22</sup>

Finally, Hamilton does not seem to have been the type of man who would run away from the consequences of his actions. This is indicated by his refusal to accept parole in Virginia in 1779 under what he thought were unsatisfactory conditions, and by his later conduct as lieutenant-governor of Quebec, where he refused to follow the policies of Governor Haldimand. He probably made mistakes while governing Detroit, but they were not serious enough to support a charge of tyranny.

While lieutenant-governor of Detroit, Hamilton received very little help from Governor Carleton, for the Americans interrupted communications and Carleton was occupied with the defense of the province. Later Carleton was angry with the British home government for giving command of the expedition of 1777 to General John Burgoyne, and with Hamilton for a supposed appeal made directly to Lord George Germain for the use of the Indians against the frontier. He asked to be relieved of the governorship, and at the time when Hamilton needed help and direction in opposing Clark his new superior officer, Governor Haldimand, had not been in office long enough to appreciate the situation or to give Hamilton advice or leadership.

The British had not developed a system of communication that would enable the different officials to co-operate effectively.

One of Hamilton's fellow officers wrote a year after the loss of Vincennes: "Mr. Hamilton's disaster proceeded from want of system, uncertain information & want of attention in others as much as from the precipitancy of the measures he took himself, and the want of a regular district correspondence will ever produce such ill effects."<sup>23</sup> The seriousness of this point appears more clearly when it is realized that Clark carried the news of the Franco-American Alliance to Kaskaskia in July, 1778, whereas Hamilton seems not to have been informed of it until the following February. Without trying to clear Hamilton of errors during his lieutenant-governorship, it is proper to note that the mistakes of the British government were by no means confined to the Atlantic coast.

## CHAPTER TWO

### *Superintendent of Indian Warfare*

HAMILTON'S reputation is so involved with the employment of Indians against the American frontiersmen during the War for Independence that an understanding of that warfare is essential to an evaluation of the man. But writers differ widely upon this point. Theodore Roosevelt wrote that the Lieutenant-Governor "merely carried out the orders of his superiors." George Rogers Clark called him the "Hair-Buyer General"; and this attitude has generally been followed by American writers with more or less caution. James A. James wrote, "Although it cannot positively be proved that Governor Hamilton offered rewards for scalps, Americans believed him guilty of this crime. That scalps were paid for seems well established through the testimony of prisoners and of spies, disguised as traders, who visited Detroit." Clarence W. Alvord was more cautious when he stated: "Public opinion among the Americans has always held Hamilton respon-



sible, maintaining that he paid into the palms of the Indians money promised for the scalps brought in. His name was execrated by contemporaries and later by historians—without careful and impartial investigation—and is held today in popular memory with the stigma of the 'hairbuyer.' " Milo Quaife, however, rejects the idea that Hamilton purchased scalps and holds that he was a mere subordinate: "The responsibility . . . rests squarely upon the shoulders of the King and his Ministry in London."<sup>24</sup> A brief examination of Hamilton's position and activity in this connection may make possible a more adequate understanding of his role.

The employment of the aborigines by white men was almost as old as the settlements of Europeans on the American continent. White men seem first to have been involved in tribal wars, but as the Europeans gained control they used the tribesmen in their own wars. The coming of the white men changed the Indians' life by making them dependent upon the whites and participants in their wars. In a short period of time they passed from the stone age into the age of steel and gunpowder. They were taught to trade the furs of animals which they trapped for the goods of the traders, to use steel knives and hatchets, to hunt and fight with guns, and in times of war to substitute for their normal activity the business of fighting. The latter came very easily, but it involved them in further dependence upon the Europeans, for the warriors and their families were in part or entirely subsisted by the power for whom they fought.<sup>25</sup> They could scarcely refuse to fight, for they needed weapons without which they could not have remained independent of hostile tribes. The Wyandot told George Croghan in 1759, "You . . . know very well that no Indian Nation live now without being supported either by the English or French, we cannot live as our Ancestors did before you came into our Country . . . ."<sup>26</sup>

Of the numerous occasions upon which the French employed the natives, only a few need be mentioned. The destruction of Pickawillany by Charles Langlade and his Indians in 1752 and the barbarities practiced there restored the Miami to French control. At Braddock's defeat the tribesmen were numerous and their role was an important one. At Oswego, at Fort William Henry, and at Quebec, battles that influenced the fate of the continent, the



warriors were present. Their usefulness, the difficulties of keeping them under control, the methods by which they might be subjected to discipline, and the inhumanities of which they were guilty when restrictions failed, were all known.

The Iroquois carried a substantial burden for the British in their wars against the French. It is probable that their losses in King William's War were so great that their former strength was not recovered.

The Indians had a vital interest in the outcome of the wars, for the French posts, villages, and missions were less disturbing to their way of living than the agricultural English settlements in which the land was cleared and tilled and the fur-bearing animals largely eliminated. The loyalty of Canadian and Lake tribes to the French was natural, while the position of the Iroquois as middlemen between the English and western Indians partially explains the attachment of the Six Nations to the English.

The British made a bad beginning with the western Indians from 1760 to 1763, but Pontiac's uprising produced a change in their treatment of the tribesmen. Thereafter the English took the place of the French in both economic and political activities, made no fundamental changes in the relations between the races, and, by adopting the Proclamation of 1763, assumed the character of protectors. The English colonists, on the contrary, continued the agricultural nature of their settlements, which left no room for the savages, and expanded beyond the Proclamation Line into the Ohio Valley.

When the colonists revolted against the mother country, the Lake Indians continued their attachment to the English in Canada. This attachment was almost a necessity because the colonists were unable to furnish trade goods. The lack of trade goods also tended to bring the other western tribes over to the British, while the leadership of Colonel Guy Johnson among the Six Nations kept the Iroquois loyal to the king. The tribesmen were antagonized also by the unfair methods of the land speculators and the danger of ever eminent frontier encroachment. The purchase of land by the Wabash Company was a potent argument which Hamilton used to secure Indian support for the expedition to Vincennes.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, the character of the lower type of frontiersmen did

not help maintain good relations, for some were not far removed from the primitive culture of the savages. They were undisciplined, uneducated, unscrupulous, cruel, and capable of emotional outbursts of hatred which caused them to strike friend as well as foe. Sometimes they shot Indians as they would shoot turkeys. They often uttered the war whoop, scalped their enemies, and even excelled them in forest craft and the native method of fighting. Between the tribesmen and the frontiersmen warfare was likely to be a more or less continuous affair. Consequently the Indians could hardly have been kept out of the Revolution unless it had been a very short war, and unless both sides had vigorously tried to keep them quiet. In September, 1776, Hamilton wrote to Lord Dartmouth, Lord Privy Seal, 1775-1782, that he had held a council with the Lake Indians in which he endeavored to keep them peaceful and yet friendly to the king's government, but that he expected to hear of several small parties falling on the scattered settlers in the Ohio Valley.<sup>28</sup>

Frontier warfare was not conducted by large armies with quartermaster departments or in regular campaigns, but by small forces which conducted raids into enemy country. Each man carried his ammunition and at least a part of his food. The raid was to be a surprise attack lasting only a few days, and the return must be as swift as possible lest the raiders be surrounded in enemy country by superior numbers. No quarter was given and none expected. Both Indians and frontiersmen in enemy country counted heavily on the element of surprise; if this failed they retreated quickly on the theory that it was better to live and fight another day. Both waged total war, killing men, women, and children. Both burned and destroyed villages, crops, and forts. The lives of prisoners taken by the warriors might be reasonably safe if they could keep pace and were not known to have been particularly hostile to the Indians. The Indians often adopted prisoners into their tribes and the violation of women was probably infrequent. Prisoners who lagged and thus threatened the safety of the raiders were dispatched by blows on their heads. Their scalps were taken, for scalps gave proof of the success of the raid when the prisoners could not be brought back. The permanent forts and villages of the whites were both a protection and a handicap in this guerrilla

warfare. The tribesmen frequently sacrificed their villages to their own safety, but the whites stood and fought.

The employment of Indians during the American Revolution was initiated in the eastern theater of war along the New England-New York and Canadian frontier before it was undertaken in the west. The first suggestion of an appeal to the aborigines seems to have come from General Gage, who was then governor of Massachusetts. He wrote, September 4, 1774, from Boston to General Carleton, "As I must look forward to the worst, from the apparent Disposition of the People here, I am to ask your opinion whether a Body of Canadians & Indians, might be collected & confided in for the Service of this Country, should matters come to extremities . . . ." Carleton replied, "The Savages of this Province, I hear are in a good Humor, a Canadian Battalion would be a great motive, & go far to influence them, but you know what sort of people they are." When hostilities began the following spring, Gage requested Carleton to send a regiment with companies of Canadians and Indians to Crown Point to make a diversion. Carleton was not able to rouse either the Canadians or the savages.<sup>29</sup>

Colonel Guy Johnson, who succeeded Sir William Johnson as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, came to Montreal, July 17, 1775, with 220 Indians, presumably Iroquois, and held a council with the Canadian tribesmen. As many as 1,664 were present at the council, where they were induced to aid the British, but Carleton refused to permit them to leave Canada. When the American invasion began, Johnson pressed for permission to use the Indians, alleging that he had instructions from Gage to that effect. Carleton again refused, insisting that Canada was subject to his orders. A small force of tribesmen stationed at St. John's, however, played a minor part in resisting the Americans. Even in the face of the attack on Montreal, Carleton stood his ground and the savages dispersed and went home dissatisfied. Johnson was probably correct in thinking that the invasion could have been defeated with the aid of the Indians.<sup>30</sup>

Lord Dartmouth, a member of the cabinet, who was characterized as "one who wears a coronet and prays," supported General Gage. On July 5, 1775 he had ordered Johnson to keep the In-

dians in "a state of affection and attachment to the King." On July 24 he instructed Johnson to induce the Six Nations to take up the hatchet and engage them against his Majesty's rebellious subjects upon such a plan as might be suggested by General Gage.<sup>31</sup>

Though the first written evidence concerning the possible employment of the Indians came from the British side, it was the Americans who first used them. A few Stockbridge Indians were among the Minute Men in Massachusetts by April 1, 1775. On that date the colonial legislature urged the Mohawk "to join with us" and "whet your hatchet" or "stand neuter." Other colonies and colonial leaders were involved in trying to raise the tribesmen, and both Richard Montgomery and Benedict Arnold were accompanied by small groups of savages. The Congress took a more conservative view and endeavored at first to keep the Indians neutral and out of the struggle. Painfully and slowly the members came around to a different attitude and on January 27, 1776 resolved that the time had come for them to take sides. It thus appears that both armies began the employment of the Indians during the first year of the Revolution.<sup>32</sup>

There was a difference, however, between their use in the year 1775 and that of two years later. The Stockbridge Indians who served as Minute Men in Massachusetts were somewhat civilized and were enlisted in regular bodies of troops in which they were outnumbered. Gage complained that they shot his sentries, but aside from this fact and their excessive drinking they remained under the discipline of regular soldiers. In general the tribesmen in the British forces were used as scouts and messengers. In either case they were opposed to armed soldiers and not to noncombatants.

The milder type of warfare did not continue, for once the aborigines were employed, the measures necessary to keep them in control were neglected, and the Indians fought according to their own custom, as they preferred. From time to time they broke from disciplinary restrictions and barbarous slaughter occurred. Lieutenant Colonel Barry St. Leger and General John Burgoyne were accompanied by Indians in 1777. The year following, the massacres in the Wyoming and Cherry valleys were perpetrated.



The old fears of what might happen were by then realities.

Hamilton, in the meantime, arrived at Detroit as the forces of Richard Montgomery cut off his communications with Governor Carleton. The latter, when besieged by the Americans, early in 1776 appealed to DePeyster at Michilimackinac to send him a force of Indians. About one hundred forty Chippewa and Ottawa under the experienced leadership of Charles Langlade reached Montreal by July 19. But the emergency had passed and, after distributing suitable presents and asking them to return a year later, Carleton sent them home.<sup>33</sup>

DePeyster and Hamilton were cautioned by the governor to keep the tribes under control and ready to act whenever needed. This was not an easy assignment, for the Virginians were also attempting to influence them and the Spanish were not long in trying to bring the tribes over to their side. Carleton wrote to Hamilton that the necessity of economy did not apply to his keeping the Indians loyal and requested each spring from 1776 to 1778 that groups of warriors be sent to Montreal. It is obvious that Hamilton was not permitted to forget his duty as superintendent of Indian Affairs.<sup>34</sup>

The situation which existed in the Fall of 1776 was well described by him in a long report to Lord Dartmouth. "The Virginians have been tampering with the Savages," he wrote, "and have threatened frequently to attack the place, but hitherto have not been able to succeed . . ." In a council the Indians concluded that the Virginians had imposed upon them by describing falsely the cause of the dispute with the mother country, and Hamilton destroyed the messages which the Virginians had sent to the tribesmen. His report continued, "Hitherto I have restrained them from acting, not having had an opportunity of receiving orders from His Excellency General Carleton, but a letter from him dated 19th July 1776, informs me that he had sent back some Ottawas, who had offered their Services desiring them to hold themselves in readiness next Spring to coöperate with his Majesty's Forces. In consequence of this; I have told the Savages assembled at this Council, to content themselves, with watchfully observing the Enemy's motions, that if the Virginians attacked them, I should give notice to the whole confederacy, and that an attack on one

nation should infallibly be followed by the united force of them all to repel or as they term it strike the Virginians—They all appear perfectly satisfied, but I am not to rely on their assurances, for as soon as the Council breaks up, I expect to hear of several small parties falling on the scattered settlers on the Ohio, and Rivers which fall into it—a deplorable sort of war, but which the arrogance, disloyalty, and imprudence of the Virginians had justly drawn down upon them . . .

"The Council is finished with the Indians at this place this Evening, they are all well pleased, and in two days some Chiefs and Warriors from the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandotts, and Pouteowattamis, are to embark on board the Gage, to join the six Nations at Niagara, under the orders of Lieutenant Col Caldwell, and I am persuaded will act as he would have them—their inclination is for War, but I hope the colonists will open their eyes, before the clouds burst, that hang heavy over their heads."<sup>35</sup>

Hamilton was engaged, therefore, during 1776 and the first half of 1777 in restraining the savages and in keeping them in control and readiness to act whenever their help should be wanted. He hoped that the colonists would reconsider their rebellious actions before the Indians should become involved in the struggle.

He was, however, accused of writing directly to the government in England and suggesting the active employment of the savages, contrary to the policy of Governor Carleton. Lord Germain wrote on March 26, 1777 that Hamilton had suggested "making a Diversion on the Frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania by Parties of Indians conducted by proper Leaders . . ."<sup>36</sup> He mentioned the report or letter covering August 29 to September 2, 1776, which has just been quoted at some length. That letter, however, does not contain such a proposal, nor does any other known letter which Hamilton wrote. It was not friendly to Carleton's policy but that is the most that can be said.

Carleton wrote a stinging reply to the criticism contained in Germain's letter, defended himself and showed resentment because General John Burgoyne was given command of the troops for the campaign of 1777 in place of himself. In it he tartly observed, "Your Lordship's letter No. 14 contains orders for Captain Hamilton, Lt. Gov'r of Detroit, in consequence of his correspon-

dence directly with your office . . . .”<sup>37</sup> Although Hamilton wrote to Germain on occasion and may have written as Carleton charged, the letter is not known to exist. Germain and Carleton were not in agreement as to whom Hamilton wrote, and the latter does not specifically state that Hamilton recommended the employment of the Indians.

If Hamilton made such a suggestion, he must share responsibility for introducing Indian warfare into the Revolution along with General Gage, Guy Johnson, Lord Dartmouth, and Lord Germain. In the absence of documentary evidence it seems more reasonable to assume that he merely reported conditions to Lord Dartmouth and that Germain decided to apply to the West the policy already adopted in the East and attributed to Hamilton more responsibility for the decision than he deserved.

The order from Germain was forwarded by Carleton and was received by Hamilton on June 16, 1777.<sup>38</sup> The crucial part read as follows: “It is the King’s Command that you should direct Lieut. Governor Hamilton to assemble as many of the Indians of his District as he conveniently can, and placing proper persons at their Head . . . to conduct their Parties, and restrain them from committing violence on the well affected and inoffensive Inhabitants, employ them in making a Diversion and exciting an alarm upon the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania.”<sup>39</sup>

The following day Hamilton opened a council with the Ottawa, Huron, Chippewa, Potawatomi, Miami, Shawnee, and Delaware tribes. All present drank the King’s health. Belts from the Six Nations to the tribes of the Western Confederacy, who called upon them to support his Majesty, were exhibited and explained. The Lieutenant-Governor told of the great success of British arms over the rebellious colonists, of the latter’s threats against the Indians, and of the Six Nations having taken up the hatchet. On the second day he showed them “the Hatchet,” “Sung the War Song—as did Mr. Hay, Depu[t]y agent, the officers of the Garrison, all the Nations present, & some of the French & English.” The chiefs and warriors declared on the third day that they had all taken up the hatchet and that they would hold it fast until desired to lay it down. On the fourth day Hamilton described to them the methods they should use in making war



and asked them to choose chiefs and warriors whom they would send against the frontiers. The chosen ones reported to Hamilton on the fifth day, and he in turn reminded them that "they were men, & were desired to make war against men, and not against women or Children, and to forbear to dip their hands in the blood" of women and children.

On Sunday, June 26 the council did not meet, but Hamilton issued a proclamation inviting Loyalists to join him in Detroit where they would be cared for and given a grant of two hundred acres of land. "The Priests . . . exhorted their parishoners to shew their spirit and loyalty." Word was sent to the Wabash Indians and to the commander at Michilimackinac of the action taken by the council. The messenger to the Wabash was expected to turn eastward and carry the word to General William Howe in Pennsylvania. The council was formally closed on Tuesday, June 28, after presents were distributed and merchandise was set aside for the dependents of the warriors. Four days were then spent in attending the war feasts of the different tribes at which a hatchet was presented to each nation and the war song repeated. Hamilton reported that he expected to send a thousand warriors against the frontiers within a month. Two weeks had been spent in these ceremonies, which initiated Hamilton's direction of Indian warfare.<sup>40</sup>

Hamilton was enthusiastic and too hopeful, but not unsuccessful. A month later he reported to Lord Germain that fifteen parties had left Detroit composed of 289 warriors with 30 white officers.<sup>41</sup> The groups averaged 19 savages and 2 white officers. Early in September he wrote to Germain that "eleven hundred and fifty warriors are now dispersed over the Frontiers," and that he had equipped seven hundred of them. One party had brought in nine scalps and five prisoners. "They have behaved with uncommon humanity to the Prisoners, and have given them all up either to Colol Butler or myself."<sup>42</sup> Not all the parties were successful. A large war party consisting of fifty-seven Canadians and seventy-five Indians to which were joined sixty Delaware left Detroit in September, but as the campaign wore on only twelve Indians and a few Canadians remained with the commander and one of the officers was killed.<sup>43</sup>

The order to employ the Indians had given Hamilton something to do, but it seems to have been the cause of other difficulties. Governor Carleton was angry and would not advise him or assume any responsibility for his actions. Several soldiers of the garrison applied to the Lieutenant-Governor for permission to go with the Indian parties, but the commanding officer refused to permit them to leave and Hamilton had no authority over the military. The more whites there were in the Indian parties, the better the prospects of keeping the warriors in control and of lessening their cruelty. When he appealed to Carleton, the Governor replied, "The conduct of the War has been taken entirely out of my hands, and the management of it, upon your Frontier has been assigned to you, as you have seen by a Letter from Lord George, a copy of which I sent you; I can therefore only refer you to that."<sup>44</sup>

Hamilton was not to be discouraged so early. The Spanish as well as the colonists were treating with the Indians and, feeling the need for decisive action, he suggested a combined attack upon the Spanish with the aid of Lieutenant-Governor Abbott of Vincennes and Rocheblave of the Illinois. The plan he sent to Carleton called for an expedition to attack Fort Pitt by way of Presqu' Isle, then to proceed down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, reduce the Spanish settlements on the way, and finally attack New Orleans.<sup>45</sup> Carleton gave Hamilton no encouragement; he informed him that the troops were withdrawn from the Illinois to save expense and that Rocheblave was employed only to send information. Abbott was lectured about the cost of his journey to Vincennes and told not to incur any further expense.<sup>46</sup>

Hamilton went to Quebec in September, 1777, with the hope of seeing Carleton, of securing some understanding about his military authority, and of obtaining further orders about the Indians.<sup>47</sup> But Carleton, who was at St. John's defending the border, suggested that Hamilton return to Detroit, sent Lernoult back to the garrison at Detroit, and requested him to end the animosities with the Lieutenant-Governor. Apparently the soldiers were not to be used with the Indians nor was Hamilton given any authority over the garrison.<sup>48</sup>

Hamilton returned to the idea of an attack on Fort Pitt when he wrote in January, 1778 that prisoners reported the garrison to

be weak, undisciplined, and ill-affected.<sup>49</sup> Again Carleton insisted that responsibility had been taken from him but agreed to refer the question to General Haldimand, who was expected soon to take Carleton's place as governor of Canada. Haldimand wrote in August, "I think no essential point would be gained by reducing it [Fort Pitt]."<sup>50</sup>

The earlier suggestion of Hamilton's to go down the Ohio and Mississippi seems impractical, but the wisdom of the plan to attack Fort Pitt could have been determined only by attempting to execute it. The ministry, particularly Germain, was responsible for leaving Hamilton without guidance. Had he been engaged in a regular expedition, his energy and resources would have been used in regular warfare rather than in Indian raids. Carleton, however would not act, Haldimand had not arrived, and when he did come he failed to grasp the importance of the Forks of the Ohio. Consequently when spring passed, Hamilton again stimulated the Indians to harry the frontiers.

Early in 1778 a second appeal was made to the Loyalists to come to Detroit or one of the other posts, and an escort of Indians and white officers was promised. This proclamation was accompanied by a statement signed by eight persons who declared that they had been well treated both on the way and after their arrival in Detroit.<sup>51</sup> By the latter part of April, Hamilton wrote to Carleton that a party of Kickapoo, Mascouten, and Wea, fifty in number, had gone to war towards the Ohio; that one hundred twenty-five Mingo, Shawnee, and Delaware came to Detroit and accepted war belts; that forty Shawnee brought in four prisoners; and that Charles Beaubien with eighty Shawnee had captured Daniel Boone and twenty-six of his men. Only four of the last group of prisoners were given to Hamilton; Boone and the others were kept by the Indians.<sup>52</sup> In January he reported that seventy-three prisoners and one hundred and twenty-nine scalps had been brought to Detroit. "The parties sent from hence have been in general successfull, tho' the Indians have lost men enough to sharpen their resentment."<sup>53</sup>

In a council which was held from June 14 to 20 the Delaware Indians were accused of aiding the Virginians, were told that this was their last warning, and were urged to join the tribes

who co-operated with the British.<sup>54</sup> On June 29, at a council held with the Wea, Kickapoo, and Mascouten, a war party of Potawatomi was cautioned to spare the aged, women, and children. The tribes present agreed to go to war and to spare the children of the enemy.<sup>55</sup>

Lieutenant-Governor Abbott, who once offered to raise a thousand warriors to use against the rebels protested to Carleton against the employment of the savages. His words picture the cruel aspects of this warfare, which crept into the raids in spite of Hamilton's efforts to humanize the tribesmen. "Your Excellency will plainly perceive the employing Indians on the Rebel frontiers has been of great hurt to the cause, for many hundreds would have put themselves under His Majesty's protection was there a possibility; that not being the case, these poor unhappy people are forced to take up arms against their Sovereign, or be pillaged & left to starve; cruel alternative. This is too shocking a subject to dwell upon. Your Excellency's known humanity will certainly put a stop if possible to such proceedings, as it is not people in arms that Indians will ever daringly attack; but the poor inoffensive families who fly to the deserts to be out of trouble, and who are inhumanely butchered sparing neither women or children.

"It may be said it is necessary to employ Indians to prevent their serving our enemies, I will be bold to say, their keeping a neutrality, will be equally (if not more) serviceable to us . . . ; & surely the presents they receive will prevent their acting against us . . . ."<sup>56</sup>

Whether Abbott's arguments that the cruelty of Indian warfare hurt the King's cause were true or not, it seems that in August, 1778 Hamilton was discouraged; he wrote to Germain that he feared the management of the Indians would be taken from him and that some of his authority would be transferred to the commander of the garrison. Because he had received intimations of a foreign war, he longed for the sympathetic guidance of his immediate superior.<sup>57</sup> To Lieutenant-Governor Hector T. Cramahé of Quebec he complained: "You may well imagine how earnestly I look towards Canada for Intelligence, instructions & orders. 'Tis true the Indians continue to act with good temper, unanimity & success, but to say the truth, it is surprizing, considering the state of



matters here, the coolness if not disaffection of numbers, the reports of a French and Spanish War, that the Indians are left to themselves, the few [Whites] I can possibly send out with them being too inconsiderable to be mentioned . . . . My authority has lately been so cramped, that it will shortly have very little force or influence."<sup>58</sup> To say that he was tired of his post and of the Indian warfare he was waging would not be far from the truth. He had, however, already heard that Clark was at the Illinois, but he had not learned of Haldimand's arrival in Quebec, and did not know what the Governor's ideas would be.

Perhaps the origin of Hamilton's reputation as a buyer of scalps arose in part from the custom which the colonists had formed of paying bounties for scalps, a usage which may not have ceased with the colonial period.<sup>59</sup> Since the colonists had engaged in the practice, it was easy for them to suspect others. There were two contemporaries of Hamilton who accused him of it: one of these, Daniel Sullivan, who was something of a spy, related what a woman resident of Detroit told him, not something he saw personally; the other, John Dodge, did not leave a reputation for truthfulness or good character. A third, John Leith, did not state that Hamilton purchased scalps although his editor assumed as much. It would be unfortunate to convict a man on such testimony.<sup>60</sup>

What Hamilton did might have led an observer to conclude that scalps were bought. War parties were equipped and sent against the frontier. Such expeditions were dangerous and the return of the parties was an occasion for rejoicing and celebration and presents were generally distributed at these times. Prisoners and scalps were turned over to the Lieutenant-Governor. He claimed to have given special rewards to those who obeyed his injunction to be humane and to bring in prisoners rather than scalps. The general assumption has been that the presents were given in exchange for the prisoners and scalps. Is it less realistic to assume that the presents were given for the services of fighting men and that the scalps and prisoners were indications of the effectiveness of the services? Hamilton's critics stated that he refused to redeem prisoners, but he continually reported their reception.

Hamilton wrote a defense of his conduct of Indian warfare

in which he insisted that he had induced the savages to follow humane methods. He stated:

"On the 9th of November [1775] I arrived at Detroit, and was almost immediately applied to by the Indians for permission to make war upon the frontiers.

"This I could not comply with, not having had orders for it, but while I deterr'd the Indians from making war, I wrote to Fort Pitt where the Rebels had a garrison cautioning them against suffering their hunters to pass into the Indian Country, as it would probably bring on a War with them.

"In the Month of June 1777 I received orders and instructions for employing the Indians, and appointing the proper persons to act as interpreters for the different nations.

"No party was sent out without one or more white persons, who had orders and instructions in writing to attend to the behaviour of the Indians, protect defenceless persons and prevent any insult or barbarity being exercised on the Prisoners.

"Before any parties were sent out, I constantly addressed the Indians pointing out to them the advantages which must in future result to them, from sparing the lives of their prisoners, who whenever a peace should take place would testify to their humanity and be successful mediators between the Americans and themselves. The frequent conferences I had with these people, the personal knowledge I had gained of their chiefs and principal speakers, and the influence which the liberality of government gave me with them, effected that change in their manner of carrying on an Indian war, which was rather to be wished than expected.

"A bare assertion of this from a person who has been taxed in a number of publications with the commission of the most horrid cruelties, might justly be suspected of wanting truth for its support, but the notoriety of the following circumstances may acquit me to the Public and relieve me from the load of odium that I have endured for a very long time, unable to assert and evince my own innocence.

"The first party of Indians which I had sent on a scout brought in seven prisoners, who were immediately delivered up to me and had provision cloathing and lodging provided for them.

"Between the Month of June 1777, and the Month of Octo-



ber 1778, one hundred and twenty nine persons were brought into Detroit by the Indian parties not one of whom did or could complain of the cruelty of the Indians or want of the tenderness and generosity in their employers.

"A Major and thirty seven Americans with their arms fell into the hands of a party of Indians, not one of whom was put to death, and the very officer having escaped from them, had the generosity to go to Williamsburgh at the time I was confined in a dungeon there to remonstrate against the injustice and inhumanity of the Governor and Council of Virginia."<sup>61</sup>

There will probably always be individuals who believe that Hamilton bought scalps and other individuals who believe that he did not. The truth, however, probably lies in between these contradictory views. He directed Indian warfare knowing what was involved. He paid the Indians for their services and received prisoners and scalps as a measure of the efficiency of their services. He endeavored to persuade the warriors that they should fight in a humane way, but the change which he thought he had brought about was not observable by the Kentuckians. Indian warfare, however, did not cease when Hamilton was captured. It grew even worse.

## CHAPTER THREE

### *Commander Against Clark*

THE border war was interrupted by unexpected news. Word of the arrival of George Rogers Clark in the Illinois flashed like a bolt of lightning and reverberated back and forth between the western posts of the British. On August 8, 1778, Hamilton wrote hurriedly to Lord Germain in England and to Governor Carleton in Quebec.<sup>62</sup> To Germain he related,

"My Lord—This very day an express is arrived . . . from the Illinois with the following account, which my duty requires I should communicate as quickly as possible . . . . A party of the Rebels, reported to amount to three hundred men, marched across the country from near the mouth of the Ouabash to Kaskaskias and surprised the place . . . seized Mr. de Rocheblave and put him in irons.

"They exact an Oath of Allegiance to the Congress from the inhabitants, who, by what I can learn, are too fickle and ready for change . . . .

"The Rebels have sent a Detachment with an officer to Cahokia to receive the submission of the inhabitants, and the person who brought the account has no doubt but those of St.

Vincennes are by this time summoned, as a French Priest named Gibault had his horse ready saddled to proceed there from Cahokia, with design to act as an agent for the Rebels."

Although not entirely accurate, the substance of the account was true. DePeyster sent a similar report from Michilimackinac on August 15.<sup>63</sup> A month later Louis Chevalier, a trader at St. Joseph, wrote to DePeyster and to Hamilton,<sup>64</sup> and other information came later to Hamilton as he moved on Vincennes. Obviously the forests kept no secrets of this type, for messengers passed along the rivers to Michilimackinac and Detroit and from these points to Quebec and to England.

Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark had identified himself from the beginning with the infant settlements of Kentucky which Hamilton's Indians had begun to attack. Clark went back to Virginia, where he secured public authorization of the governor and council to raise an army to defend Kentucky and secret instructions to attack the centers of British influence north of the Ohio River. He raised a small army of one hundred fifty men in the Redstone district of southwestern Pennsylvania and passed down the Ohio to the Falls, where he built a fort and stationed about twenty families who came with him. A company of recruits from the Holston and another from the Kentucky settlements joined him, but some of the former deserted when he revealed that his secret instructions would take him far beyond Kentucky. With one hundred and seventy-five men he "shot the Falls" on June 26, 1778, and started for the Illinois Country. After a march across southern Illinois he surprised and took Kaskaskia on July 4.

Captain Joseph Bowman with thirty men received the submission of Cahokia; Dr. Jean Laffont and Father Pierre Gibault, without military support, persuaded the residents of Vincennes to swear allegiance to Virginia on July 20. Clark then turned his attention to the Indians and soon made so many friends among them that he threatened English control of tribes far from the French villages.<sup>65</sup> These achievements were the source of the news which interrupted Hamilton's activity at Detroit, surprised the western officials of England, and led to Hamilton's expedition to Vincennes.

General Frederick Haldimand had not long been established as governor of Quebec when Hamilton's letter reached him. The exact wording of his reply is interesting, because writers have repeatedly asserted that Hamilton left Detroit for Vincennes without orders. Haldimand wrote, August 26:

"In the present circumstances of the affairs you relate, it becomes highly necessary to employ every means which offers, if not to retrieve the injury done, at least to stop its further progress, in which, it is not, so much the expense itself, as the care to prevent its being in vain and thrown away, which ought to be attended to. The expediency of supporting the Ouabash Indians is very evident, & I cannot therefore but approve of such steps as you shall find necessary to take for this purpose: And I must observe that, from the great expense to which Government has been put for the Indians in general, it might be expected that some of them might easily be induced to undertake expeditiously to clear all the Illinois of these Invaders, and if the effort of the parties, which you send out and have proposed to send out to the Ohio, were properly directed, the retreat of the Rebels and especially the communication & intercourse which they want to establish by that river with the French & Spaniards might be so disturbed, if not entirely cut off, as to render that object of their expedition & attempts upon this occasion entirely fruitless . . . ." <sup>66</sup>

The very next day he wrote again, as though he had written too hurriedly the day before: "I must . . . desire that you will immediately and by the safest and most expeditious conveyance acquaint me with your Idea of the practability of recovering the possession of the Illinois and of the means which from a consideration of what I have above suggested, you should advise to be employed for that purpose with the probability of success." The advice of DePeyster was also asked by Haldimand in a similar letter. <sup>67</sup>

A month later Haldimand wrote two letters to Germain. The first of these, dated, October 24, described Hamilton's current expedition to the headwaters of the Maumee River for the purpose of dislodging the Rebels from the Illinois and characterized it as necessary if the trade of that country was not to be lost. The second letter, written the following day defended Hamilton from

the charges made against him by the grand jury of Montreal because of his judicial action against civilians and explained why the Lieutenant-Governor was forced to be somewhat irregular. Neither letter indicated any dissatisfaction with Hamilton's procedure.<sup>68</sup>

In the light of these facts it can hardly be said that the Lieutenant-Governor went on his expedition without the approval of the Governor. So far as is known Hamilton had not described his plans, but Haldimand had approved such steps as Hamilton should find necessary; on the next day, however, apparently on second thought, he asked Hamilton what the specific plans were.

When Hamilton received Haldimand's letter of August 26, he assured the Governor "that every means in my power shall be used to second your intentions with regard to the Indians of the Ouabash & the Invaders at the Illinois, & *Post Vincennes*." He stated that "no time was to be lost in supporting & encouraging" the warriors and that for this reason he should set off in about twelve days. He wrote to Michilimackinac and St. Joseph to ask that the Indians about these posts should co-operate by making an attack down the Illinois River. He sent Céloron to deliver belts to the Wabash tribesmen and to destroy the effectiveness of the cannon at Vincennes.<sup>69</sup>

DePeyster at Michilimackinac showed a similar reaction to the presence of the rebels in the Illinois. "If they are not routed by some means . . . the whole Mississippi Trade is knocked up." He wanted immediate orders and told Haldimand that his fort could be maintained only by the good understanding of the Indians.<sup>70</sup>

Late in September an advance force left Detroit for Wolf Rapids on the Maumee and the portage at the Miamis. They took ten oxen and ten horses, three pairs of wheels and thirty-three thousand pounds of provisions. In Detroit more provisions and supplies were prepared and packed, militia companies were organized, and boats were mended. Hamilton reported to Haldimand that he expected to depart the first of October in order to occupy a fort until reinforcements, light cannon, and an engineer could be sent to him; but rains delayed his departure. On October 2 he assembled the Savages and sang the war song.<sup>71</sup> Just before



the expedition started on October 7, Captain Henry Bird came from Niagara with fifty additional soldiers for the garrison at Detroit, and Captain Lernoult of Detroit permitted three officers and thirty of the regulars to join Hamilton.<sup>72</sup>

In addition to the regulars there were fourteen officers and seventy-one rank and file in the volunteer militia, five officers and thirty-five rank and file in Captain La Mothe's volunteer company, three artillery men, and seventy Indian chiefs and picked warriors. All told, Hamilton's little army amounted to 162 white men and 70 Indians.<sup>73</sup> Other Indians joined the force as it proceeded on its way towards Vincennes. There were also fourteen officers of the Indian Department.

The names of the officers of the volunteer militia and of the Indian Department who accompanied the expedition reveal the extent to which Hamilton placed himself in the hands of the French. Among the three captains of the volunteer militia were Guillaume La Mothe and Alexis Maisenville. The five lieutenants were Jacob Schieffelin, Pierre St. Cosme, Medard Gamelin, and the brothers François Joncaire and Chevalier Chabert. The interpreter was Antoine Bellefeuille, the commissaires Charles Lovain and St. Martin Adhemar, and the boatmaster François Maisenville. Among the three captains of the Indian Department were Charles Reaume and Isadore Chesne; two of the three lieutenants were François (Sieur de la Picanier) and Pontchartrain de Quindre; the two armorers were Augustin Lefoi and Amable St. Cosme; and the storekeeper was Nicholas Lasselle. The Maisenvilles had intermarried with the Chaberts who, for two generations, furnished the French agents among the Iroquois—a post which had not endeared them to the English. Other members of the expedition had relatives among the French at Vincennes and the Illinois. For the Lieutenant-Governor to employ a considerable number of French officers at Detroit, where he was in communication with stronger forces of English soldiers, was understandable; but to undertake a long and difficult journey into the wilderness, where he could be reinforced only with great difficulty and after much delay, and in this isolated situation to place so much dependence upon men who had hardly forgotten their hostility to England cannot be considered an act of wisdom.

The expedition got way from Detroit early in the afternoon of October 7. In the center of the line was the gunboat in charge of the artillery men, both in front and behind the boat was a platoon of the regulars of the King's Regiment, next to each of these platoons was a body of militia, and beyond the militia were subdivisions of La Mothe's volunteers, while the advance and rear guards were made up of Indians. The first night camp was at the River Rouge. The next day, because of a high wind, the expedition halted at Celoron Island at the mouth of the Detroit River; rain and snow that night must have worried the leader lest winter halt his progress.

About noon on the ninth the men left the island to cross the western end of Lake Erie and at eleven that night put into shore because of high winds and rain. They did not know that they had almost reached the mouth of the Maumee but spent the night on a low, swampy portion of the western shores of Lake Erie. The following day they gained the mouth of the Maumee, and at the Pointe aux Chenes (point of the oaks) they dried their clothes and rested. On the eleventh the expedition reached the foot of the rapids, and there the sloop "Archangel" brought them additional provisions.

The rapids of the Maumee begin where the village of Maumee is now located and extend up stream some fourteen miles to the village of Grand Rapids. The river falls a total of fifty-five feet, and eight different rapids have been given distinctive names. It took five days to pass this stretch of the Maumee and repair the boats damaged by the rocks. On the first of these, October 12, the expedition struggled up the rapids, and officers, men, and Indians waded in the water in order to pull the boats up the river. The artillery boat required thirty to fifty men to haul it against the current and over the rapids. The next day Rocher de Bout was passed, where the rock, twenty-five feet in height, extended out into the river and where the depth of the water made the setting poles useless. The men pulled the boats by holding on to projections of the rock, and a towline was used to advance the artillery boat. When a point about three miles above this rapid was reached, a halt was called to dry the powder and stores, repair the arms, bake bread, and rest the men.<sup>74</sup>

The night of the thirteenth Hamilton attended a prewar feast which was given by the Chippewa. It was presided over by a "Master of the Feast," who opened the festivity with an address to the "Master of life" and a prayer for the protection of the "Lord of all" and the help of the inferior spirits of the rivers, woods, and mountains. When the bear meat was consumed, the "Master of the Feast" sang the war song and danced the war dance, and all the company marked the measure by a deep expiration coming from the bottom of the lungs, and with a correspondent action of the body and head. Hamilton and various Indian chiefs then followed the "Master" in dance and song. Finally, some of the Indians bit into the bear's head, "saying 'twas the head of the Great Knife, so they stile the Virginians," whom they in this manner signified their intention of attacking.

There was plenty of activity in addition to the hard work of ascending the river. While the expedition encamped at the foot of the rapids, six Huron chiefs killed fifty turkeys in a short time. Lieutenant Shroud (Shourd) accidentally shot himself in the leg and was sent back to Detroit, where he soon died from the wound. Additional supplies were brought up on the fourteenth, and the Ottawa gave a feast, apparently repeating the ceremonies of the night before. The following day and the morning of the next were spent in talks with the Indians and in bringing provisions from the foot of the rapids.

Neegik, an Ottawa whose name means "the otter," brought to Hamilton a report about what had happened at Ouiatenon when a force of Clark's men came there in order to capture or drive away Jean Baptiste Céloron, the British agent. The latter was a son of the famous Pierre Joseph Céloron de Blainville who led the French expedition into the Ohio Valley in 1749. Since the younger Céloron was very successful in holding the Indians to their friendship with the British, Clark determined to try to remove him. He sent Lieutenant John Bailey from the Illinois with a detachment of men, who were joined at Vincennes by Captain Leonard Helm with Vincennes militiamen and Indians, the entire force numbering about one hundred men. They arrived at Ouiatenon without opposition and found a council in session between Chippewa and local Indians. Céloron, who had heard of their approach, had fled.

Hamilton did not forgive Céloron for this flight though it is doubtful that the latter could have successfully opposed the rebel force. Furthermore Clark's attack indicated Céloron's effectiveness previous to his departure, but Hamilton regarded him as disloyal and in the pay of the Virginians. Some idea of the arguments by which the Americans hoped to win over the Indians can be gained from Neegik's account in Hamilton's "Journal."<sup>75</sup>

At dusk on the sixteenth, after the expenditure of much labor, the expedition reached the head of the rapids and thereafter traveled more speedily and easily. Three leagues were made before breakfast on the seventeenth, two more before dinner, and three in the afternoon, probably a distance of twenty-four miles. Breakfast was eaten at "la prairie des Mascoutaignes," dinner at "les isles de Miamia"; the night's encampment was made between "Isle au Serjeant" and "isle au plomb." The next morning before sunrise Hamilton feasted with the Chippewa on a bear and three cubs.

By nightfall the British arrived at the mouth of the Auglaize River, where there was an Ottawa village containing some forty warriors. The Indians fired a salute as Hamilton arrived, and in the morning he returned the recognition. Orders for clothing were given the villagers which would be honored at Detroit. The war song was repeated and fourteen warriors who promised to follow Hamilton wherever he went joined the expedition. The Indians chided him for "not pouring some rum on the grindstone," so he opened two bottles of rum.

The soldiers and warriors took five days to pass from the mouth of the Auglaize to the source of the Maumee. The place of the night's camp on the nineteenth is not indicated in the "Journal"; that of the next can be located with probability only; Hamilton said they camped a league above the Mairais de l'Orme, or the marsh of the elms. On the modern maps there is a creek named Mary Delarme which empties into the Maumee near Cecil, Ohio; as this name is probably a corruption of the early French name, it is likely that Hamilton camped a few miles above Cecil.<sup>76</sup>

On the twenty-first, he received word that General Lachlan McIntosh, the American commander at Fort Pitt, had advanced towards Canada. In preparation for an attack upon Detroit the



General built, in October, Fort McIntosh at the mouth of Beaver Creek in western Pennsylvania, and in the following month Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas River in present-day Ohio.<sup>77</sup> Hamilton entered a memorandum in his "Journal" to send some ammunition to the Shawnee in order that they might oppose the rebels who followed McIntosh.

On the night of October 21, the English expedition camped near the place where the present Indiana-Ohio boundary crosses the Maumee River. It spent the night of October 23 "en bas des prairies," or at the foot of the prairies, not far from the site of Fort Wayne. The distance to the Miami village was passed over the next morning in time to fire salutes and to fight a mock battle with blank powder. A council was held that afternoon.

The junction of the St. Joseph and St. Marys rivers was occupied by the huts of French traders and two Indian villages. On the eastern bank of the St. Joseph was the village of Kekionga, the home of Pacane, the head chief of the Miami. On the west bank was the village presided over by Petit Gris, another Miami chief. Some traders were to be found in both villages but the main concentration was at Kekionga.<sup>78</sup>

Hamilton and his men had taken seventeen days, from October 7 to 24, to make a journey which was usually made by water in ten days or on horseback in four. This was good time if the size of the boats and the amount of provisions are taken into consideration. Lieutenant Henry DuVernet, who was a member of the force that accompanied Hamilton, drew a map while the journey was being made. On it he wrote a brief description of the Maumee River and of the villages at the site of Fort Wayne.

Upon the completion of the journey described by DuVernet and before proceeding down the Wabash, Hamilton found it necessary to win the friendship of the Miami Indians who lived at the headwaters of the Maumee and to send some of the men and equipment to the portage to prepare the way for the transfer of the boats and provisions. A celebration for the success thus far achieved was held on October 25, when an ox was served to the soldiers, a second to the Miami, and a third to the other Indians who were present. Hamilton visited the chiefs of the Miami in their village. Six batteaus with twenty thousand pounds of pro-



visions were sent on to the carrying place in preparation for the continuation of his journey.

On the following day a council in the open field was held at which there were in attendance Ottawa, Chippewa, Wyandot, Miami, and Shawnee. Hamilton smoked the pipes of the Kickapoo, Mascouten, Wea, Shawnee, and Cherokee, and, addressing the assembly, gave thanks to the "Master of life" for all favors, for the prosperous journey, and the present happy meeting. The various belts which told of the intentions of the different tribes to assist Hamilton and to go to war against the Americans were produced and explained. Hamilton again repeated the war song, after which he was followed by the chiefs and warriors. He urged the Shawnee to continue border warfare with their usual spirit. That night he held a conference with Gros Loup, one of the three important chiefs of the Miami, who agreed to go to Ouiatenon to secure intelligence and report on the attitude of the Indians of that vicinity.

On the twenty-seventh additional men and boats were forwarded to the carrying place. Potawatomi Indians came from the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan to see Hamilton and in the evening the chiefs of the Lake Indians came to Hamilton's tent to discuss the belt which the Chickasaw had sent to urge the northern Indians to unite against the Virginians.

A report describing the progress of the expedition was dispatched the next day to Governor Haldimand,<sup>79</sup> and additional men to help pass the boats overland to the headwaters of the Wabash were sent to the portage. The Ottawa gave a feast to the Miami at which Hamilton, the chiefs, and the warriors joined in the war song. This night the commander went to the beginning of the carrying place. He had overcome the difficulties of the Maumee, had won the assistance of the Miami, and was now ready to lead his men across to the Wabash.

The task of moving the boats and supplies for the expedition from the Maumee to the Wabash was backbreaking and time-consuming. The first part of this transfer required an overland journey of nine miles, and the second part involved the use of Little River from the end of the portage to the Wabash. Which was the more difficult would be hard to say. Before Hamilton

finished the councils with the Indians, his men had transported to the Little River the supplies which were to accompany the expedition.

"The gun boat was got on the Carriage with great difficulty," Hamilton wrote on the twenty-ninth of October. It was for the purpose of moving the boats from one river system to another that oxen, horses, and wheels were brought along. Hamilton walked across the portage, probably accompanying the gunboat, which was the largest of his little flotilla. Jehu Hay, deputy Indian agent and the major in the Detroit militia,"<sup>80</sup> and Captain Maisonville were in charge of forwarding the other boats; a group of men was engaged in clearing the channel of the Little River; while other men were ordered down the river in pirogues with the six-pounder and ammunition. Still another group stood guard over the provisions which were waiting to be shipped.<sup>81</sup>

Hamilton seems to have been confused about the place where the portage path began. He wrote that he went to "pied froid" on the other side of the St. Joseph River. He may have started from the St. Joseph, but Pied Froid, or Cold Feet, was an Indian village that was named after a former Miami chief and was located on the east bank of the St. Marys River at the site of the old French fort and opposite to the beginning of the most used portage path. In wet weather the distance to the Little River where the portage ended was about six miles west and south; in dry seasons like 1778 it was necessary to go farther in order to find deep water. The land between the two rivers was reasonably level and occasioned slight trouble. The "petite Riviere" was only wide enough for one boat at a time and was obstructed with logs and stumps.<sup>82</sup>

Four miles below the point where navigation was resumed beavers had built a dam. Since it backed up the water and aided the boatmen, the Indians were said to respect the animals and to protect them from trappers. When boats came to the dam it was broken through, but the beavers restored it. Hamilton broke the dam, filled the breach temporarily, and reopened it as his boats required passage. Below the dam was a narrow part of the stream which was nearly filled with logs and which he called the "chemin couvert," or the "covered way," because the branches of the trees

on both sides intermingled overhead; from the branches snakes were reported to have fallen into the canoes. Still farther down, the stream broadened into a swamp, "les Volets," the surface of which was covered with water lilies. Beyond this marsh the Aboite River came in from the north and the channel soon became larger, but the troublesome places were not all passed.

Hamilton spent the night of October 30 near the beaver dam, which he repaired to secure a larger supply of water for other boats that were to come down the stream. Two days later he took seven boats and three pirogues through the "chemin couvert" and the swampy "les Volets" to the mouth of the Aboite, where he encamped. The distance was estimated as only ten miles but the task was one which required much labor.

Both the Aboite and the Little rivers were dammed at their junction to secure more water, the lack of which had stopped some of the boats farther down the stream. At this place four days were spent, during which Major Jehu Hay arrived with the remainder of the boats. The water was released on the sixth of November and Hay proceeded to the mouth of the "riviere a l'Anglais," where another dam was constructed. This is the modern Langlois Creek, which joins the Little River near Roanoke. There were rifts and rapids below this point and the next day was spent in a vain attempt to get the boats over them. Only one vessel made the distance. The heavier ones required the help of twenty-two men to move them and many were damaged in the attempt. That night the men camped along the river wherever darkness came upon them. The following day more men were brought to the task and the boats were made lighter by unloading part of the supplies.

The forks of the Wabash where the modern city of Huntington is now located and where the Little River flows into the larger stream, was reached on the ninth. Four days were required at this point to repair the boats, to bring down the supplies that were unloaded at the rapids, and to forward other supplies to the mouth of the Salamonie River farther down stream. Hamilton recorded that forty boats were repaired at this time. The forks of the Wabash must have been a busy place from the tenth to the thirteenth of November, 1778.

Snow and rain failed to raise appreciably the level of the river and the men had to work in the water as they moved forward on the fourteenth even though the water froze on the poles by which they pushed the boats. The place of the camp, which Hamilton called the sloping maple, "l'Erable penchee," is not now distinguishable. An additional day was required to bring all the boats together. The expedition again moved forward on the sixteenth and seventeenth, probably camping in the vicinity of the present-day town of Lagro on the first of these nights and a short distance above the mouth of the Mississinewa on the latter. Another day brought the boats to the mouth of a little stream which Hamilton called the Calumet. It entered the Wabash from the north somewhere between the mouths of the Mississinewa and Eel rivers. It was not far above the latter, because the Indians from that locality came to see Hamilton. Another day, the nineteenth, was devoted to repairing the boats and counseling with the Indians. On the twentieth the expedition may have remained stationary, but Hamilton went to the mouth of the Eel River, where he visited the Miami at their village. Along the Eel above its juncture with the Wabash was a group of villages of this tribe, which formed an important center of Indian population. To the west began the Wea territory, to the north were the Potawatomi, and from here to the Maumee, Auglaize, and the Great Miami rivers lived the Miami tribesmen.

Two days were required to pass the rapids of the Wabash near the mouth of the Eel River, where some of the boats were again partially unloaded in order to move them over rocky ledges. In the evening of the twenty-second, large fires were built and rations of rum were given to the men, for they as well as the boats had suffered during the two days of arduous labors. Apparently the Indians had not tired themselves so much, for they spent six hours of the night in dancing the war dance and singing war songs. The twenty-third was used in bringing down the provisions that had been deposited on the shore and in repairing the damaged boats.

That night the Indians sang to their "Nattes," or Budgets, as Hamilton called them. They were "war bundles" which contained charms, household gods, wolves' teeth, panthers' claws, eagles'



talons, snake skins, and other similar items. They were carried by a medicine man in advance of the war party toward the enemy. At the time of this ceremony, when the campfires were lighted and the warriors had finished eating, the medicine man stood before the encampment and began his incantation to his bundle, which he placed a few steps before him. At the full extent of his voice he roared out his prayer in a tone between "melancholic and terrific." "The various tunes in various languages bellowed aloud by these Heralds of the night, the thickness of the Woods and darkness of the Weather with the blaze of a great many large fires extending along the Savage camp for a considerable length, the intervals of silence from time to time broken by these horrible Songs, sometimes by a Chorus of Wolves in full cry after the Deer, formed a very strange but striking medly." Several tribes were present and the effect was heightened as the medicine men vied with each other. These nights must have been highly interesting if not terrifying to the Lieutenant-Governor, a native of the Old World.<sup>83</sup>

Hamilton's camp during these days and nights seems to have remained above the mouth of the Eel River. On the twenty-fourth he moved down the Wabash to the "petite rocher," a name which may then have been applied to a small stream that joins the Wabash a few miles below modern Logansport, to a rocky cliff four miles from that city, or perhaps to both.

On the twenty-fifth the flotilla moved on down stream to an island which Hamilton called the "pierced isle," about halfway between modern Logansport and Lafayette. Another day brought the men to the "Garlic Islands," perhaps near the site of Delphi, and camp was made on the twenty-seventh a little above the mouth of the Tippecanoe River. Coal mines were noted a short distance above the camp on both sides of the river. The day's journey was probably short, as ice in the river was giving the expedition much trouble. Hamilton had reached another area in which many Indian villages were located. These Indians had been visited by agents of George Rogers Clark and some of them had gone to see him. Hamilton assumed that they knew little of the strength of the British, because they had been visited only by French traders and renegade Englishmen. He, therefore, took



unusual precautions to protect his camp from a possible surprise attack at night.

He went to see White Head, a Wea chief, who told him that the Wabash Land Company's purchase had displeased the Indians, and who agreed to go and summon the chiefs who were out on the hunting grounds. Hamilton also met an Indian princess, but she was not the glamorous creature usually suggested by those words. She was dark and hospitable but not neat. Hamilton avoided eating her shredded and smoked racoon flesh and soup made of venison, beans, and maize, perhaps because he saw her wipe out her greasy wooden spoon with her fingers. She was not offended, however, but tossed into his boat a dozen raccoon heads. The expedition went on to Ouiatenon where several days were taken up in council with the tribesmen. Hamilton had successfully completed another part of his journey, but new tasks and dangers lay ahead.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### *Ruler of Vincennes*

WHEN Hamilton reached Ouiatenon he entered upon another phase of his journey, for he was now beyond the more immediate sphere of British influence. On the Wabash from this post to its mouth there was at least the possibility, if not the reality, of furs being sold to traders who would take them down the Mississippi and thus of less dependence on the British; even the traders at Ouiatenon who came from Detroit did not seem to Hamilton to be deserving of trust. According to him, the officer in charge had behaved suspiciously when Clark's men came to that community and the Indians had accepted the American conquest without resistance.

Hamilton had to win the Wabash Indians—the Wea, the Kickapoo, and the Piankashaw—or be prepared to fight his way through them to Vincennes. He had also to gain the respect of the French inhabitants or make them fear his power. His troubles thus far had been largely the difficulties of transporting his supplies and men over the rapids of the Maumee, the portage to the Little River, and the shallow places of the upper Wabash. This type of

problem disappeared at Ouiatenon, for from here to Vincennes the channel was ample for his purpose. Only a prolonged cold spell which would cover the river with ice would be likely to stop him. Before meeting the greatest of his problems, the contest with Clark, he had to solve the more immediate if lesser ones at Ouiatenon.

The village was protected by a stockade ten feet in height which surrounded twelve cabins inhabited by Frenchmen and their families. The stockade was flimsy and scarcely defensible against small arms. "The French settlers," Hamilton wrote, "are few and as inconsiderable as debauchery and idleness can make them . . ." <sup>84</sup> He summoned them to meet him in the chapel, where he lectured two of the traders who gave evasive answers to every question. Major Hay formally administered to the inhabitants the oath of fidelity to the British King, although Hamilton believed that the character of the habitants did not insure obedience or encourage morality among the Indians. He recorded in his "Journal," "In all remote posts are to be found the most faithless and abandoned among the Traders—Men of that stamp will naturally attempt to push their fortune where they are least known." Hay, in addition to administering the oath, raised St. George's Ensign on the flag-pole before detachments of troops who presented arms and fired three rounds from the six-pounder. Hamilton left orders that the flag was to be raised on Sundays and holidays as a signal that His Majesty had resumed his rights.

About the stockade there were approximately ninety Indian cabins, which were inhabited by some nine hundred Ouiatenon Indians and which constituted the chief village of this tribe. Hamilton assembled the chiefs on December 1, told them about the part being played in the Revolution by the Six Nations and the Lake Indians, declared that the Wabash Company's land purchase was contrary to the king's law, and burned a copy of the purchase contract in their presence. <sup>85</sup> Methusaagai, a Chippewa chief, gave them a belt from the Six Nations, who exhorted them to join the other tribes against the Rebels, and another belt from the women of the Lake Indians urging the wives of the Wabash tribesmen to raise large crops so their warriors could take up the ax for their father, the King of England. The Ouiatenon declared their intention of joining the others in war and Little Face and

twenty-two warriors joined the expedition. A feast was given that evening for which two hogs were killed and at which "a due proportion" of rum was served.

The next afternoon another feast was given, at which Egushewai with two war belts and three death hammers in his hands sang the war song. An Indian princess, perhaps the one with whom Hamilton had refused to eat, was present at the council wearing a French medal which he got from her in exchange for brooches and bracelets. Soon she demanded the medal also, and Hamilton felt constrained to return it in order to preserve good relations.

On December 3 the Lieutenant-Governor went to a Kickapoo village a few miles to the south and followed the same procedure with the chiefs of this tribe. The council was opened by smoking the calumets which the Kickapoo and the Shawnee had presented to him in Detroit at a previous council. The Kickapoo were pleased to see that he remembered to bring the pipes with him. They gave a belt to the Chippewa as a peace offering to heal a previous difference between the two tribes and to establish unity among the Indians. They blamed Céloron for their defection to the Virginians. The war song was repeated and a short sword was given to a young chief. Hamilton was assured that in the spring the Kickapoo would infest the Ohio like mosquitoes. A group of traders arrived from Detroit, men whose names were not French, and Hamilton ordered clothing from them for the old men, women, and children, and arms for the warriors. That night at eleven o'clock an eclipse of the moon occurred, and the Indians fired their guns to frighten away the manitou who was eating the moon.

Additional chiefs arrived on the fourth from their hunting grounds, and Hamilton delayed his departure in order to confer with them. A Ouiatenon chief named Le Forgeron, the Blacksmith, came and asked for a war belt. Quiquapouquaa, or Crooked Legs, probably a Kickapoo, brought a Rebel flag which he had accepted from the Virginians and which Hamilton stamped under foot. He chided Quiquapouquaa for being so ready to desert the English but forgave him, and congratulated the Indians that they were now all united and hence would not have to meet any armed

resistance before reaching Vincennes.

At last, on December 5, Hamilton felt that his tasks at Ouiatenon were completed and that he could proceed down the Wabash. The first day's advance was only nine miles, which brought the expedition to Rattlesnake Hill, from which an extended view of the valley was obtained. The following day Hamilton stopped at a hill called "La Rejouissance," where tradition declared the French had first met the Indians of the river. On the next day he reached a camping ground six miles below the mouth of the Vermillion River, probably near the present town of Newport but on the east bank of the Wabash. At the junction of the Vermillion with the Wabash one of the chief villages of the Kickapoo was located, but it was deserted because the Indians were at their winter hunting grounds to the westward.

The journey of the next day, December 8, was also a short one, some seven miles. The Indians asked to be permitted to camp in advance of the soldiers in order to hold a special ceremony, which took place on the opposite side of the river. They sang to their gods in an uncouth and melancholy strain until a late hour. They then crossed the river and passed through the encampment of the expedition, singing the war song at each separate camp of the tribes and of the military detachments.

Hamilton planned the advance on Vincennes. "The boats should row in divisions abreast," a body of Indians was to reconnoiter on each side of the river, and parties were to be sent ahead to lie along the roads from Vincennes to the Falls of the Ohio and Kaskaskia and along the Wabash below Vincennes to prevent messengers escaping to warn Clark of Hamilton's approach.

On the ninth the flotilla advanced about twenty-four miles and stopped on the Cherokee steeps, which were probably not far from the present site of Terre Haute. During the day wild turkeys flew over the river and the Indians fired on them. A glancing bullet struck White Fish and put out one of his eyes. He accepted the calamity as an accident and lamented that he had been wounded by a friend and not in battle. His attitude was fortunate, for White Fish was a Shawnee chief and the defection of that tribe would have been serious.

Most of the tenth was used in council as the wind was too



high for the smaller boats. The accident of the day before was discussed, and the Indians forbidden to fire their guns while in the boats. A guard was sent ahead to precede the expedition, the women and children were to be kept in separate canoes some distance from the flotilla, singing at night was to be discontinued, and all guns were to be examined and if necessary repaired by the gunsmiths. Hamilton promised to notify the French inhabitants that they could expect no favor if found in arms on the side of the Rebels. Directions were also given concerning the movement of the boats in case of attack.

The wintering ground of the Piankashaw was reached in the afternoon of the eleventh, and Hamilton went ashore to greet the old chief, the Black Fly. A short distance below his village, camp was made, and a council was held near the close of day. Hamilton assured the chief that he had nothing to fear from either the British or the Indians who accompanied them. The Black Fly wished success to the expedition and gave Hamilton a calumet. Another chief said he would go to war and reported that there were only two Rebel officers in Vincennes.<sup>86</sup>

When, at noon on the twelfth, a raft was discovered on the west side of the river, Hamilton feared that he was about to be attacked. He ordered the Indians to the shore and the soldiers to follow immediately. The latter were arranged in battle formation, with a guard to protect the boats. A trail was followed for some distance, but no further discovery was made. Advanced guards were sent out early the next day and, although a hunter reported that he found the tracks of five horses, nothing more was seen. The Indians persisted in singing at night in violation of Hamilton's orders. One medicine man was described as singing to his war bundle in a very loud voice at the full strength of his lungs and keeping time with his Indian rattle. "At certain pauses he howled like a Wolf, snorted like a horse, or imitated the cry of some wild beasts or bird . . . ." Hamilton also had to overcome the superstition of the Indians about dreams, for on two different nights an Indian dreamed about a terrible engagement, in which all the English, twenty of the French, and some of the savages were killed. These dreams might have caused the Indians to turn back.

On the fifteenth, four men who had been sent out from Vincennes to reconnoiter were captured, and at night the Indians held their last war dance. Information obtained from the prisoners was used in planning the approach to Vincennes. Major Hay with Captain La Mothe's company, Lieutenant DuVernet with part of the regulars, and some of the chiefs were to reconnoiter the neighborhood. They were to take possession of Vincennes if the report of the prisoners proved to be true. Guards were to be posted to prevent disorder, and liquor that might be found was to be stored in order to prevent the savages from becoming intoxicated. When Hay was ready to depart, all the young Indians rushed to their canoes to accompany him, and Hamilton had considerable difficulty in quieting them and making them understand that they must obey orders.

When Hamilton and the main force approached Vincennes the next day, December 17, he was surprised to see the boats of Hay's detachments about a mile above town, and the American flag flying over the fort. He immediately supposed that the fort had been reinforced and that the French inhabitants intended to aid in its defense. He landed his men, drew them up in battle formation, and went up a hill to observe what was going on in the village. He saw Hay's men and soon learned that the French had deserted Captain Helm and were turning in their arms.

Hamilton then advanced to the fort with the regulars and the six-pounder in the front. He summoned Captain Helm to surrender, and Helm asked what terms he might expect. The Lieutenant-Governor replied that Helm's situation did not admit of any other than being treated with humanity. Helm and three other Virginians surrendered. Hamilton placed sentries to keep the Indians out of the fort, but some got in through portholes for the cannon, and others overcame the sentries and rushed in, causing much confusion. They seized thirty-two horses which were in the fort and, in order to be rid of the savages, Hamilton opened the gate and horses and riders hurried out. Sentries were placed at Helm's door to protect his goods, but the Indians entered through the windows. A barrel of rum, however, was kept from them, and order was soon restored. The messenger whom Helm had sent to Clark was captured by the party guarding the road to

Kaskaskia. No further plundering occurred, not a shot was fired, and the fort was securely in Hamilton's possession for the time being. Hamilton quickly realized that much work was required to make it a strong fortification. Captain Helm was given liberty on parole after promising not to send intelligence to any Americans. The long voyage from Detroit was complete, the difficulties and dangers had been overcome. So far Hamilton had conducted his enterprise successfully.<sup>87</sup>

The natural setting of the little community, which he had just taken from Captain Helm, made a favorable impression on Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton. Extensive meadows supplied sweet, strong hay and an abundance of pasture which made the raising of cattle easy. The farmers did little to prepare the fields and did not use manure, although ample supplies were available. The sandy soil was light in weight, dark in color, and rich in productive power. With a small amount of labor it yielded a variety of crops in abundance. Maple sugar and many kinds of wood could be secured in the nearby forests. Cool and wholesome water repaid anyone industrious enough to dig a well. Cornfields were not fenced because the cattle of the villagers were kept in a common inclosure of two thousand acres. Deer, bears, buffaloes, raccoons, turkeys, pheasants, and quail were plentiful. Buffalo meat, as well as furs, was exported to New Orleans, where liquors and other commodities were obtained.

Hamilton thought that the people of the village failed to use the opportunities which nature had placed around them and that the poverty of their lives contrasted with the rich natural environment in which they lived. He considered them as lazy, dissipated, dishonest, and worthless. To Governor Haldimand he wrote: "To enumerate the Vices of the Inhabitants would be to give a long catalogue, but [to] assert that they are not in possession of a single virtue, is no more than truth, and justice require . . . ."<sup>88</sup> The fact that the French had accepted the Virginians when approached only by a priest and a doctor without a military force seemed to Hamilton an apostasy which he could not forgive. He was not displeased when they did not support Captain Helm but surrendered, because they were then confronted by the superior British military force. Their eagerness to take

an oath in which they admitted that they had forgotten their duty to God and failed in their duty to man did not raise his estimation of them, although they promised to become good and faithful subjects of the King of England. When he began to perceive that they were not observing this oath, his condemnation was unlimited. To him such violations were treacherous and treasonable. Before this last defection was evident to him, however, he referred to them as drunken and thoughtless. He wrote in his "Journal" on January 1, "I found that the attempts of the most reasonable among them to encourage order, decency, or the education of children, were frustrated, or ridiculed by the indolent vicious ignorant inhabitants." He called the community a refuge for debtors and vagabonds from Canada who were lost to every principle of probity and honor.

Hamilton's attitude towards the people reveals both his own high standards and his lack of knowledge and experience. He did not realize that the inactivity of the habitants was the result of the ease with which they could secure the necessities of life and the futility of accumulating surpluses which could not be sold. There was little to be accomplished beyond obtaining the fundamentals. The people were in the hunter-farmer stage of civilization and were too far from the markets of the world to engage in much commerce. Since the acquisition of wealth was difficult, they danced and sang, and prized enjoyment above riches. It was easy to slip into drunkenness and immorality, and the Indian strain in the population increased the superstitions of the people. Not all their inadequacies, however, can be explained away and, when allowance is made for these contributing factors, the inhabitants appear as undependable, uneducated, and primitive people stranded in the wilderness far from the sources of culture. Many of them were neither very religious nor very devoted to high standards of morality, but to deny them the "possession of a single virtue" was rank injustice.

Very little was written by Hamilton about the houses or buildings of Vincennes. The fort and the church must have been the most important structures. The church could hardly have been very large, and yet he called on the men of the community to assemble in it to take the oath of allegiance to the king. More



than two hundred and fifty took the oath, of whom the majority were present the first day. Perhaps not all of these were able to enter the church at one time. There were doubtless other buildings in addition to the fort, church, and houses, for Hamilton mentioned two billiard tables which would require accommodations of some kind. The houses were spaced about one hundred to two hundred feet apart and some of them were very close to the fort. The barns were apparently carelessly constructed, for he mentioned that they were rarely waterproof.

The capture of this little community by military force made Hamilton the ruler of Vincennes. For the short time from December 17, 1778 to February 24, 1779 he was the arbiter of affairs on the banks of the Wabash. The first important act of Hamilton after taking possession was the decision not to lead his army to the Illinois villages to attack Clark. The flooded condition of the rivers, the insufficiency of his stock of provisions, the inadequacy of Fort Sackville, and the need of a considerable force in Vincennes to keep the Indians of the lower Wabash and the French inhabitants loyal to the English decided him against making an attack.<sup>89</sup> He might have added that the long and strenuous journey which he had just completed made necessary a rest for the men and repairs to the equipment. Although one can scarcely criticize him for his decision, it did delay the final contest with Clark and it kept Hamilton in Vincennes for the next two months. The behavior of the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia when they thought Hamilton was about to attack their village indicated that the conditions under which the two rivals would have met would have been very different from what they were when the meeting in Vincennes took place and that the advantages might not have been all in favor of Clark.<sup>90</sup>

Hamilton assumed that he had found a safe haven for the winter, but dangerous influences were at work about him that were to make his hitherto successful expedition a failure. Although he recognized these forces he did not grasp their true significance; in fact his actions strengthened them. While waiting for spring to come when he should assume the offensive, he repaired Fort Sackville, but alienated the French inhabitants and some of the leaders in his own expedition, and failed in his



attempts to secure aid from the Indians of the lower Wabash and from the tribes of the South. This delay not only enabled Clark to take the offensive, it gave time for the unfavorable influences to become effective.

Hamilton had not established good relations with Governor Haldimand, who in turn did not give him the support which he needed. The major fault was no doubt Hamilton's, but the Governor lacked comprehension of the situation in the interior in several respects. The Lieutenant-Governor's hasty departure from Detroit before Haldimand had time to realize what was intended or needed, to give orders, or offer advice may have been the basis of the misunderstanding that developed. At the beginning, however, Haldimand made some effort to help. Hamilton notified DePeyster, the commander of the garrison at Michilimackinac, of his intentions to attack Clark, and the Governor suggested that DePeyster should aid as much as possible. Both letters reached Michilimackinac late in October after the Indians had gone to their wintering grounds. The band of Indians which had been sent to Montreal under Captain Charles Langlade and Lieutenant Charles Gautier had also returned and dispersed to their winter homes. DePeyster wrote that it was too late to summon a large enough force to attack the Illinois villages by way of the Illinois River, particularly since he did not have provisions to feed the families of the warriors during their absence, but that he could do much better in the spring.<sup>91</sup>

The commander at Michilimackinac criticized Hamilton and wrote that the Lieutenant-Governor "had stole a march which had he [DePeyster] been informed of he could greatly have added to its consequence by sending all the Indians returned from Montreal . . . ."<sup>92</sup> Hamilton, however, had written to DePeyster as soon as he received permission from Haldimand to go, and furthermore had all the Indians he wanted. Hamilton's problem was not lack of men but means of transport for men and supplies. Perhaps he was too eager to win the glory for himself and should have asked DePeyster to arrange for a group to move in co-operation but by a different route to the Illinois. It was difficult, however, to arrange for co-operation when communication through the wilderness was so slow.

DePeyster tried, nevertheless, to rouse the Indians in spite of the advanced season. He sent Langlade to the Courterrielles and the Sauteaux between Grand River and the St. Joseph of the Lake along the shore of Lake Michigan. Gautier was to go to St. Joseph to ask Chevalier to assist in raising the Potawatomi. But Hamilton was just arriving at the Miami town where Chevalier met him with a small band of Potawatomi, and Langlade and Gautier were detained by contrary winds. On their way they tried unsuccessfully to raise the Ottawa, who declined because they had not received previous notice. Gautier arrived at St. Joseph after Hamilton had passed Ouatatonon. Langlade collected about eighty Indians, but when they learned that Hamilton was so far ahead they declined to go farther. Consequently, Langlade set out for his post at Green Bay and Gautier for his post at the mouth of the Wisconsin.<sup>93</sup>

The failure of these efforts was not so significant as the failure of the Canadian officials to attempt anything further. For this Hamilton was in part responsible, but Haldimand also must share in that responsibility. Hamilton wrote before leaving Detroit that he intended to take and maintain a post until reinforcements with light cannon and an engineer could join him.<sup>94</sup> From Ouatatonon he asked for intelligence about a reported European war and for orders and instructions, and again stated his purpose and explained his needs. From Vincennes he also wrote, saying that "It will be a great satisfaction to me to have your Excellency's orders, & as soon as possible to resign to the person you shall send to command here, a power which must be maintained in Credit only by a military force."<sup>95</sup>

Haldimand's reaction to this last appeal has been preserved in his "Remarks on Lieut. Gov. Hamilton's Letter 18th Dec'r, 1778." Some of the comments are petty, others are just criticisms of Hamilton, and still others betray a lack of understanding on the part of the Governor. All of them exhibit the impatience of Haldimand. One of the most revealing was the following: "He [Hamilton] mentions an reinforcement next spring from Detroit, but does not mention what number he wants. Neither if he has ordered said reinforcement or if the Commander in Chief is to order."<sup>96</sup> Surely the Governor knew that Hamilton had no author-

ity over any troops not already in Vincennes. Another remark indicated that the Governor did not understand Hamilton's offer "to resign to the person you shall send to command here." Evidently Hamilton expected someone to be named lieutenant-governor at Vincennes to take the place vacated by Abbot, but Haldimand did not comprehend it. Hamilton, to be sure, should have made his requests more specific, but Haldimand did nothing to help him beyond the request to DePeyster which produced no aid. Before the Governor wrote his "Remarks," however, Hamilton had surrendered. How the British expected their officials in the interior to succeed is not clear.

In contrast to his inability to secure help from British officials in Canada was his industry in repairing Fort Sackville, which Lieutenant-Governor Abbott had built in a rude form on the river bank near the church, and which Hamilton found in a poor condition for purposes of defense. He wrote to Haldimand, "the Fort at this place [is] in no proper state to serve as a Garrison for the winter season, [and] requires all hands to make it tenable . . . . As soon as coverings for the men, provisions and stores are finished I design to alter its form to that of a triangle, having a block house in each angle to project over the picketting of the face of each half bastion."<sup>97</sup> Later, upon the advice of Jehu Hay, he changed his mind; he left the fort a rectangle and substituted two blockhouses for the salient angles that jutted out from each side. The two blockhouses were to be made musket-proof and a three-pounder was to be mounted in each. The other two corners were to have loopholes, linings, and platforms, in order that the defenders might fire on possible attackers from protective covering.<sup>98</sup>

Work on the fort proceeded with regularity and industry. Ten days after Hamilton took possession of Vincennes a new powder magazine was completed and put to use. On the next day a guardhouse near the gate and a barrack for fifty men were finished, and a well which was soon deep enough to strike water was being dug. The carpenters were building a second barrack and the inhabitants were squaring logs for the blockhouses early in January. The frame of the new barrack was raised on the fifteenth, and the structure was probably finished in little more

than a week. The timber and scantling for the southeast block-house were ready for raising by the end of the month, and within three days one of the three-pounders was mounted in it. At least two of the salient angles were removed, and the northwest block-house was constructed somewhat more slowly than the first one. Although another of the three-pounders was mounted in it, it was not entirely completed when Clark made his attack. The palings on the walls of the fort were not what they should have been, for Clark's sharpshooters were able to fire between them and embarrass the defenders.

Hamilton was also very industrious in his dealings with the Indians. Before he left Detroit, Charles Beaubien, the interpreter who was stationed among the Miami, brought him speeches or belts of wampum which had been addressed to the Miami from the Chickasaw, the Piankashaw, and the Virginians. The Chickasaw message stated: "We have long desired to see you but the Virginians have occupied us, & we know that they intend to go to you. We pray you not to receive them . . . If you would defend yourselves we will help you . . . we are not in the enjoyment of an inch of ground for hunting, and if you give them your hand you will be also like us . . . All the brown skins should act as a single man . . ." The Piankashaw sent word that they would join with the Chickasaw and that they would already have struck the Virginians, but they waited for the reply of the other Wabash tribes. "It is our feeling that they [the Virginians] should be sent home & not to let them pass."

The speech of the Virginians urged the Wabash Indians to desert the British and join with the Virginians. Some of its statements are interesting.

"My children! We wait for you with great impatience and we invite you to come promptly for at the end of the other moon we will set off to go to see your English Father who is at Detroit.

"Come now to look for what you want and you will find all that is necessary for you. We are not doing like your father giving you a little rum; with us it is as water, we make it ourselves.

". . . we are numerous and . . . will make an end of your father, who is at Detroit . . .

"As for the Indians who are with him we regard them as



nothing, we will sweep the roads with their bodies . . . ”<sup>99</sup>

These speeches reflect Hamilton's problems with the tribesmen as he came to Vincennes. The Lake Indians and the Shawnee and Iroquois were attached to the British. The Wabash tribes were wavering between the Virginians and the English, and the Southern tribes were trying to unify all the Indians against the Americans. Clark's invasion had made the need of unity greater.

Hamilton's "Journal" for the two months he controlled Vincennes contains more information about the Indians than about all other business combined. Perhaps this indicates the relative importance he placed upon their affairs. The tribes along the lower Wabash showed little inclination to join in the war, and even the presence of chiefs from the Great Lakes did not impress them sufficiently. The lack of unity increased the urgency of the effort to contact the Southern tribes, particularly the Cherokee and the Chickasaw, and to bring them into the war against the frontiers in the West. Hamilton thought that the Wabash tribesmen could not hold out against such a show of unity. An Indian, Kissingua, and a white man, Edward Hazle, were sent with belts to the Cherokee and Chickasaw and with a letter to John Stuart, the Superintendent of Indians of the Southern Department. The latter was requested to employ the Indians against the Carolina frontier, which probably meant the settlements in what is now Tennessee. In a later report Hamilton wrote that he requested a meeting between Southern and Northern Indians with a view to a general invasion of the frontier. When he wrote to Stuart, he was still confident of his own ability and may have felt that he was not in need of Stuart's help north of the Ohio. The various tribes were engaged in attempts to remove differences between the Northern and Southern Indians in order that all might devote their whole energy against the frontiersmen. A belt from the Creek was brought by the Shawnee to be forwarded to the Lake Indians expressing their friendship for all the tribes and their hostility towards the Americans.

This activity seems not to have produced the desired results, for the tribes did not join in unison nor did the Kickapoo and Piankashaw take up the hatchet against the Americans. Kickapoo chiefs attended some of the councils and a small number of war-



riors went on one of the raids to Kaskaskia. Hamilton placed too much importance on these facts, for he thought that this tribe had joined in the war and that the other tribes would follow.<sup>100</sup> Piankashaw chiefs came to see him and to attend the councils, but they did nothing more than talk about their friendship for the British and their "brown-skin" allies and explain why they could not go to war. The other chiefs expressed distrust of the promises of the Piankashaw and frankly cautioned them about making reckless statements. When Clark arrived on the scene, there was no longer any doubt to whom the Piankashaw paid allegiance.

A party of Indians under a white officer was kept on the Ohio to prevent communication between the Illinois and Kentucky. The men on this duty were relieved by others and the task seems to have been well performed. Parties were stationed on the road to the Illinois, and prisoners were brought in from time to time. The most eminent of these was Francis Vigo, whose name was spelled by Hamilton as "Vigaud." He was captured on December 24 by Lieutenant De Quindre, Old Raccoon Wabangay, Methusaagai's son and sixteen other Indians, who had been sent out on the Kaskaskia road to intercept stragglers. On the following day Hamilton examined him and was told that no discipline or regularity was observed by the Americans in Kaskaskia, that they were billeted upon the inhabitants, and that they were scattered throughout the settlement. On the fourteenth of January Hamilton gave a passport to "Vigaud the Piedmontese," whom he described as a Spanish subject bound for "Paincourt." Vigo, after returning to St. Louis, gave Clark valuable information about conditions at Vincennes. Since he was so busy in Vincennes, the direction of Indian warfare against the Pennsylvania-Virginia-Kentucky frontiers seems to have passed to Hamilton's successor at Detroit.

The management of the tribesmen was a difficult task, for with them little things assumed great importance. On December 23 Hamilton wrote, "A dispute happend yesterday between the Chippoways and Ottawas." Hamilton had to be on guard always against such incidents. At another time one of the chiefs, who was under the influence of liquor, came into Hamilton's room, requested more, and when Hamilton refused rose up in a fury

and dashed his bottle to pieces. The Indian was testing Hamilton to see if he could persuade the Lieutenant-Governor to give out more liquor; and when the latter appeared unmoved, the chief offered his hand in friendship and went away smiling. Probably because of jealousy between the tribes an expedition against the settlement at the Falls of the Ohio failed. Egushewai cautioned Hamilton on one occasion against paying too much attention to some tribes and neglecting others. Although Hamilton did not bring the tribes of the lower Wabash into the war, he seems to have been successful in managing the others.<sup>101</sup>

In the latter part of January the chiefs and warriors who came with Hamilton from Detroit, the Maumee, and the upper Wabash Valley began to return to their families in time for the spring planting. They promised to come back to Vincennes by late spring or early summer, and some suggested sending other groups to take their places in the meanwhile. If, however, they had conspired to leave Hamilton just when he needed them most, they could hardly have picked the time more accurately. Some of the most loyal, nevertheless, remained with him and were about Vincennes when Clark came; in fact Clark killed some of them as they returned from a reconnoitering assignment.

The return of the Indians to their villages coincided with the departure of many of the French who came down the Wabash with Hamilton. At the end of December the three De Quindres and the militia of Detroit requested permission to return home. Hamilton tried to dissuade the De Quindres and expressed his disappointment about the militia but felt that unwilling soldiers were of little value and so granted their requests. A month later other officers, including Lieutenants DuVernet, Beaubien, St. Cosme, and Captain McLeod, asked to be permitted to leave. Hamilton reduced his force during January from one hundred seventy-two officers and men to ninety-six. By the time of Clark's attack the number had declined to seventy-nine. Of these he could depend upon few more than the thirty-three regulars.<sup>102</sup>

Nor was Hamilton's management of the inhabitants of Vincennes successful. Although he attributed this failure to the low and dishonest character of the people, other factors must have entered into the situation. It is likely that the inhabitants realized

the contempt he had for them and reciprocated with a similar feeling. After lecturing them about their defection and administering an oath of allegiance, he organized the men into militia companies. He required them to surrender their powder, but later he had reason to think that they had concealed much of it, although a diligent search was made and heavy fines threatened for disobedience. He dismantled two billiard tables as sources of immorality and dissipation and took possession of all the spirituous liquors, which he declared were better surety for their good behavior and a more beloved hostage than wife or child. A Canadian fur trader, who lost at gambling and signed notes as though the debt had been contracted as a part of his business, found that the Lieutenant-Governor wrote on his bill of goods the true nature of the obligation in order to notify his employer and prevent fraud. Hamilton called in the men who were militia officers under Lieutenant-Governor Abbott and lectured them again for their disloyalty. The inhabitants were required to help in remodeling the fort and some who disobeyed orders were punished by assignment of hard labor. Late in January thirty of them were ordered to go with a group of officers to bring down the stores which had been left at the Miamis. It is possible, however, that Hamilton's policy was irritating rather than strict or harsh, for he pardoned every offender for every offense and granted permission to every officer, soldier, and Indian who wanted to return to his home. He may have been too lenient for his own good. All these incidents are minor and do not seem serious enough to account for the refusal of the French to remain loyal to him.

This change in loyalty, which involved the French inhabitants of Vincennes, the French volunteers in the Detroit militia, and the Indians, was fatal to Hamilton's expedition. The cause appears to have been the news of the Franco-American Alliance, which Clark carried to the Illinois and which Father Peter Gibault and Doctor Jean B. Laffont brought to the people of Vincennes. When Hamilton was at Ouiatenon on his way to Vincennes, he received a copy of the *Quebec Gazette* which told about a naval engagement between France and England. On February 22, just before Clark attacked Vincennes, the Lieutenant-Governor told

the Indian chiefs that he had reason to believe that there was, or shortly would be, a rupture between Great Britain and France, but that he expected the Indians to treat the French as loyal subjects of the English King. "They appeared a little struck at this news," he wrote, "tho' 'tis probable they had had intimation of it from the French, as I had heard of rejoycings having been made at the Illinois, & even at St. Vincennes on the accounts being received of the Alliance of France with the Americans." Probably they were "struck," not at the news but at the lateness of his information, for the French and Indians must have known about it shortly after Clark's arrival in the Illinois. Clark noted that when he told the people of Kaskaskia that the King of France had joined the Americans, the information "very apparently effected them." When one realizes the persistent belief in the face of opposing actuality that the French armies would return to the interior of North America and dispossess the British, one can understand that the news came as a confirmation to the French or the wishful thinking they had engaged in since 1763.<sup>103</sup>

As a result of these various actions and decisions, some apparently rather insignificant, the stage was set for Hamilton's capture. The decision to remain in Vincennes for the winter, although justifiable, was a surrender of the offensive. The fort was repaired and strengthened, but it was still not suitable as a defensive stronghold. The Lieutenant-Governor's hasty departure from Detroit, the lateness of the season, the inactivity of the British officials, and the early attack by Clark prevented any reinforcements from Canada reaching Vincennes. Hamilton failed to win the support of the Indians of the lower Wabash who were closest to Vincennes and, therefore, potentially able to be of great assistance. His plans to gain aid from the Southern Indians did not have time to develop. He also failed to win the sympathy and help of the French inhabitants of Vincennes, who contributed to Clark's conquest of the community. This lack of sympathy was shared by the Detroit militiamen and the volunteers, who were largely French and who formed a considerable part of the force commanded by the Lieutenant-Governor, and by the French officers in the Indian Department who accompanied the expedition. Many of the Lake Indians had also gone. Finally, news of the Franco-American Alliance

was spread through the forests and convinced the French that the long desired relief from British control was eminent. A bold, determined, courageous, and clever leader, George Rogers Clark, was approaching Vincennes to turn these forces into victory for his native state of Virginia.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### *A Captive of George Rogers Clark*

EARLY in January, 1779, with a small party of guards and "gentlemen," Clark left Kaskaskia to go to Cahokia. About three miles on the way one of Hamilton's parties of Indians and white leaders lay in wait for him. As Clark drew near the place of intended ambuscade, an accident to one of the "chairs," in which the gentlemen were traveling, delayed the party. The advanced group of Indians could not send word to the larger group a half-mile distant without being discovered, and the former was too small to make the attack alone. Clark thought that he was saved by Hamilton's instructions not to harm him and that the smaller group was not able to take him without running the risk of killing him. At a later date he told Hamilton that the attempt had failed because of the treachery of Charles Beaubien and Hypolite Baulon, French leaders of the Indians.<sup>104</sup>

According to Clark the party which attempted the capture

was composed of about forty Ottawa, but from Hamilton's "Journal" it appears to have been a combination of various groups. Egushewai with thirty Ottawa and Canadians had left Vincennes, December 24, 1778, for the mouth of the Wabash, from which he apparently went to Kaskaskia. On Christmas day Hamilton sent Wyndeego and Eskibee, Potawatomi chiefs, with thirteen Indians on a scout to Kaskaskia. Two days later five Kickapoo also left for the same place and Wyndeego returned with a prisoner. The following day a war party of nineteen Ouiatenon, commanded by Petite Face, asked permission to go to Kaskaskia and to be accompanied by Charles Beaubien. That night Hamilton gave to Beaubien a letter for Sieur Janis, and to Hypolite Baulon, an interpreter for the Ouiatenon, who was also to go along, a letter to Gabriel Cerré with a "placart" for the inhabitants of Illinois.<sup>105</sup> Presumably one or more Piankashaw went with them, for on the ninth of January a Piankashaw returned with a prisoner who was carrying a letter to Captain Helm. It indicated that Clark had been warned that a party was on its way to attack the Illinois but that he did not yet know of Hamilton's presence in Vincennes. Probably the various groups of Indians gathered together near Kaskaskia. On January 22 Baulon and Egushewai returned to Vincennes with the story of their failure to take Clark. It is not clear whether there was disloyalty, mere disobedience, or too much talk and lack of wisdom. Egushewai, however, was one of Hamilton's most loyal Indian chiefs.

Shortly after reaching Prairie du Rocher, which was twelve miles on the way from Kaskaskia to Cahokia, Clark was informed that Hamilton's entire force was about to attack Kaskaskia. This news, the first which Clark had received of Hamilton's arrival in the Wabash Valley, had come from the loose talk of the Frenchmen who led the Indians. Clark had heard of Hamilton's leaving Detroit but supposed he went to meet General Lachlan McIntosh, who built Forts McIntosh and Laurens between Pittsburgh and Detroit. After returning to Kaskaskia and making preparations for its defense, Clark learned the true character of the force which was seen near Kaskaskia, and he correctly concluded that Hamilton was actually present in Vincennes. Knowing his danger, he was able to make plans which enabled him to reverse the situa-

tion. The man who in January was in danger of being captured, in February became the captor and Hamilton the captive.

Finally, toward the end of January, Clark received reliable and detailed information from Francis Vigo, who was captured by another band of Hamilton's Indians, taken to Vincennes, and then released. After returning to St. Louis, Vigo visited Clark and told him that Hamilton was in Vincennes, that his Indians were dispersed, and that he was attempting to secure the help of the Southern Indians for an attack in the spring upon the Virginians in the Illinois villages.

Clark immediately decided that he must attack Hamilton before he was ready to take the offensive. By attacking early, Clark would catch Hamilton with his Indians scattered and with his garrison reduced by the absence of the Detroit militia and the officers of the Indian Department. If there should be delay, reinforcements might arrive from Detroit, and the Lake Indians might be joined by the Southern tribes, which would give Hamilton a large body of Indian warriors and chiefs and might enable him to carry the war to Clark.

Clark prepared the "Willing," an armed row-galley, and stocked her with supplies. She set out, February 5, to go down the Mississippi and up the Ohio and Wabash rivers to Vincennes. Forty men were on board. The next day with 172 men, about half of whom were French volunteers, Clark left Kaskaskia to proceed overland some 180 miles to the same destination. The prairies were wet and the men were soon fatigued. Without tents they camped on the soggy ground; in the valleys of the Little Wabash, the Embarrass, and the Wabash rivers they literally waded through floods. Game became scarce and for two days the army was without food. The crossing of the Wabash and the lowlands south of Vincennes nearly brought death from cold and exhaustion to many. Clark's determination was never so much in evidence as when his men reached Vincennes on February 22. A more heroic march is not to be found in the Revolution.<sup>106</sup>

As Clark and his men were approaching Vincennes, their fires were discovered by Captain Maisonville and reported to Hamilton, although it was not known at that time who had built them. Captain La Mothe with two other officers and twenty men

were sent to reconnoiter. The fort was made ready for defensive operations. Ammunition was delivered to the two blockhouses, scaffolding was set up in the two angles of the fort that were not protected by the blockhouses, and the militia was called to arms. Before these measures were complete and before Captain La Mothe returned to the fort, Clark attacked.

The roll call was just over, when Hamilton was surprised by the firing of small arms. He attributed this commotion to some drunken frolic of the inhabitants, but when he went upon the parade he heard the balls sing. He still could not conceive that the disturbance was anything other than some drunken people amusing themselves. The men had been ordered to stand by their arms, but now they were sent to the blockhouses and the platforms with orders not to fire until they could be certain of making their shooting effective and thus be very saving of their ammunition. "It was now near dark and the fire increasing we were not at a loss to conclude our opponents were those whose fires had been discovered . . . ." <sup>107</sup>

The surgeon managed to get in after the battle began and brought word that the attack was being made by Colonel Clark, who had just arrived from the Illinois with five hundred men. Captain La Mothe, unable to get back to Fort Sackville, spent the night hidden in a barn. Early the next morning he and his men made a dash for the fort and successfully scaled the stockades.

The church and the houses of the village were so close to the fort that they afforded protection to the attackers. Hamilton made some use of his small cannons in the blockhouses to force Clark's men farther from the fort. He thought of burning the town but decided against it.

At eleven o'clock in the morning of February 23 he was summoned to surrender by Clark, who threatened to treat him as a murderer if he destroyed any supplies or burned any papers. Hamilton refused "to be prevailed on by threats to act in a manner unbecoming the character of British Subjects." The firing was resumed. Before sending his reply to Clark, Hamilton assembled his officers and read them both messages. They supported Hamilton's proposed reply. He then assembled his men telling them it was the determination of the officers, as well as his own to defend



the King's colors to the last extremity. All the English declared they would stand to the death for the honor of their country. The French, however, hung their heads and said it was hard they should be required to fight against their own friends and relations who had joined the Americans. The disloyalty of the French greatly weakened Hamilton's determination. He then and there decided to accept honorable terms of surrender if he could get them.

On this same day Clark and his men committed two brutal deeds, which were described to Hamilton and by him recorded in his "Journal." Francis Maisonville, who had acted as a guide to the force that went out to look for Clark's army, did not return to the fort but remained in the village and was betrayed to the Virginians. He was asked by Clark if he had been out with Indians on raids, and when he gave an affirmative answer the Colonel ordered one of his men to scalp him. A small part of his scalp was actually taken, when one of his brothers who had come with Clark from the Illinois interceded for him. Clark in his "Memoir" placed the responsibility for this deed on two of his men.

The second deed grew out of the return of a party of Indians which had been on a scout towards the Falls of the Ohio. As the Indians approached the village they fired their guns as was their custom, not knowing that the fort was besieged. While they were unprepared they were attacked, one being killed, two wounded, and five captured, according to Hamilton. Clark said that six were captured, two scalped, and the rest wounded so seriously that only one lived. The captured Indians were brought before the fort and tomahawked in sight of the defenders in a brutal exhibition. Hamilton believed that Clark personally killed one of the Indians with a tomahawk, because he was still bloody when he came to negotiate shortly after this event. Hamilton described him as "still reeking from the human sacrifice in which he acted as chief priest . . ."<sup>108</sup>

In the negotiation which followed, Clark threatened that if Hamilton did not surrender "not a single man should be spared." The Virginian had accurate information on the number of men upon whom the Britisher could depend—about thirty-



five. Hamilton refused to capitulate but finally said he would surrender on honorable terms. At a later meeting terms were arranged after an initial disagreement.<sup>109</sup>

The fort was given over to the Virginians on the morning of February 24, at ten o'clock. The traditional accounts of the number of men surrendered hardly represent the situation accurately. James A. James stated that Clark's forces was not one-fourth of the combined force of the enemy and their allies. He described the fort as having four blockhouses; Hamilton wrote that there were but two. When the surrender occurred, the garrison was said to contain seventy-nine men. Clark's men numbered one hundred seventy. James further stated, "Clark was surprised to find that this fort . . . mounting twelve guns and well stored with ammunition, with a garrison of trained soldiers, had been given up so readily." Clark wrote, however, "on Viewing the Inside of the Fort and stores I was at first astonish[ed] at [it] being given up in the Manner it was but on weighing every circumstance I found that it was prudent . . ." <sup>110</sup> Hamilton's order to be saving of the ammunition has already been noted; certainly he would not have given such an order if his supply were large. The fort was not completed and the regulars on whom he could depend numbered thirty-three. Almost all the remainder were Detroit volunteers who did not want to fight. Seven of the garrison had been wounded, and six of these were regulars. His Indians gave him no support at this time. Hamilton surrendered a dependable garrison of approximately thirty-three men and a few officers to Clark, who commanded one hundred seventy and who had the support of the inhabitants of Vincennes and the friendship of the Indians of the lower Wabash. The surprising thing is not so much the surrender as the predicament in which Hamilton had been caught. Why had he remained at Vincennes after permitting the Detroit militia, many of the officers of the Indian Department, and many of his loyal Indians to return home?

In the afternoon of February 24 Clark asked Hamilton what persons among the prisoners had been employed with the Indian raiding parties. Hamilton said the men would speak for themselves. After they identified themselves, Clark ordered them

to be put in irons. Hamilton was shocked at this order, which he regarded as a violation of the terms of surrender. He protested against it and reminded Clark that he had signed terms of capitulation. When the Virginian persisted in his determination, Hamilton, according to his "Journal," reminded him that by such an act he renounced all pretensions to the character of an officer or a gentleman. Hamilton also requested that he be put in irons in place of his men, who merely acted under his orders. Whether Clark carried out his order is not clear from the "Journal." The scalps of the Indians who had recently been killed were hung near the doors of the tents in which Hamilton and his fellow prisoners were housed.

Victor and prisoner became somewhat friendly during the days following the surrender. Clark told the Lieutenant-Governor that if his French leaders of the Indian party which attempted to capture him, Charles Beaubien and Hypolite Baulon, had done their duty they would have captured the Virginian and four of his officers. This information seemed to Hamilton to explain why these and other Frenchmen had been so eager to leave Vincennes and return to Detroit. Hamilton in turn recorded his judgment that Clark's march from Kaskaskia to Vincennes was very extraordinary.

Clark stated in conversation that "he expected shortly to see the whole race of Indians extirpated, that for his part he would never spare Man woman or child of them on whom he could lay his hands." Hamilton apparently remonstrated and insisted that the Indians had "so far foregone their usual habits as to have spared the lives of several of their captives . . . ." Clark was referred to Henry the Armourer, who had been at Detroit and had witnessed the treatment of prisoners. After hearing Henry, Clark turned to Hamilton and said, according to the "Journal," "Sir I find I have been mistaken in your character & facts have been grosly misrepresented."<sup>11</sup> These conversations were not recorded by Clark, but in his "Memoir" he wrote, "Almost every man had conceived a very favourable opinion of Govr Hamilton (and I believed what affected myself made some impression on the whole) I was happy to find that he never

deviated while he stayed with us from that Dignity of Conduct that became an officer in his situation."<sup>112</sup>

Hamilton feared that some of the Rebels intended to shoot him. On two occasions drunken men with arms came to his tent, but each time someone was awake and nothing happened. He complained to Clark, but did not learn of anyone being punished.

Hamilton was surprised when Captain Helm and his men returned with the convoy of provisions from the Miamis. Before Clark came to Vincennes, Hamilton had sent men to return with the supplies he had left at the carrying place. Clark learned of this and sent Captain Helm to meet them. He took them prisoners and now brought them and the supplies to Vincennes. With them was Philip Dejean, the former Justice of the Peace at Detroit, who brought a packet of letters for the Lieutenant-Governor. Hamilton was angry because Dejean had not destroyed the letters and because Clark did not permit him to have any of his private possessions that were brought by the convoy, not even "a glass of our own wines."

Hamilton was anxious to leave Vincennes, "this detestable place, where every object reminded me of the baseness treachery or ingratitude of the inhabitants." He learned that some of his own soldiers had made terms with Clark without asking his permission. He managed to secure shoes and moccasins for the long march but was unable to lay in provisions, and Clark furnished enough for only ten days. He was informed that he was to go by boat to the Falls of the Ohio and from there overland along Boone's trace to Williamsburg. Just before leaving he was permitted to read some of the terms of the Franco-American Alliance, which had undoubtedly been one of the important factors in his defeat.<sup>113</sup>

## CHAPTER SIX

### *Prisoner in Virginia*

CLARK gave an exaggerated account of the number of prisoners he secured when Fort Sackville surrendered. He said in his letter to George Mason that he was uneasy because of the number of captives and that he had "almost as many Prisoners as . . . Men." In his "Memoir" he wrote that "the Number of prisoners we had taken added to those of the Garrison was so considerable when compared to our own numbers that we were at a loss how to dispose of them so as not to interfere with our future operations."<sup>14</sup> Although Clark's position was not an easy one, there seems to have been some overstatement in these remarks. The garrison contained seventy-nine officers and soldiers, but only thirty-three were regulars and six of them were wounded. There were eleven officers who had remained with Hamilton, such as Major Hay, Captain La Mothe, Boatbuilder Maisonville, Lieutenant Schieffelin, and Surgeon McBeth. The above-named remained loyal to England, but other officers took an oath of neutrality and were released by Clark. The Vincennes militia and populace had gone over to Clark who had over two hundred

of his own men after the arrival of the "Willing" and its crew. He discharged the Volunteers of Detroit, who had discouraged Hamilton by their unwillingness to fight. This left twenty-seven officers and men, mostly regulars, who were sent by Clark to Virginia. With them he also sent twenty-three guards. It does not seem that he should have worried excessively about these prisoners when he had one hundred seventy armed men to do what he soon assigned to twenty-three.<sup>115</sup>

The captives were given the large oak boat in which Hamilton had transported the six-pounder from Detroit and which had given them so much trouble at the different rapids. Fourteen oars had been used in bringing the boat to Vincennes, but only seven were allowed to ascend the Ohio. The twenty-three guards were divided among four light boats. The provisions, which consisted of flour, pork, and spirits, lasted only ten days. Obviously the men were expected to live off the land by hunting and by purchasing food from the Kentuckians. They were to go by water down the Wabash and up the Ohio to the Falls of the Ohio. From the Falls they were to march overland to Boone's Wilderness Trace, which they were to follow to the Valley of Virginia. They were then to take the road to Williamsburg by way of the Roanoke Gap. Lieutenant John Rogers was to accompany them to Williamsburg, but the guards were to go only as far as the Falls, whence the local militia was to furnish an escort.<sup>116</sup>

The journey began on March 8, after a sad farewell from the wounded men, some of whom got to the river bank. The Wabash, the current of which was very swift near Vincennes, was flooded and when the prisoners reached the Ohio on the third day they found it had backed up the waters of this tributary three miles from its mouth. The Ohio was eighteen feet above its banks and driftwood in the trees indicated that it had been as much as twelve feet higher. The third night was spent in the boat because no land could be found. Four more days brought the boat above the mouth of the Green River. That night, also spent in the boat because dry ground was not available, apparently overtook them a short distance above the site of present-day Evansville, Indiana. Hamilton estimated that they rowed about thirty miles on the eighth day, but they could make



only nine miles on the ninth. The provisions were exhausted on the following day but hunters who were sent out were able to bring back some buffalo meat.

Ten more days of rowing up stream produced observations about "the large rafts of driftwood, brought down by this extraordinary flood," and the improbability of the country's being settled for many centuries. The monotony of the journey was interrupted long enough for Hamilton, Major Hay, and Bellefeuille to climb to the top of a cliff to see the ravages caused by a hurricane. Captain William Harrod from the fort at the Falls met them on March 29 and that night they encamped a short distance above the mouth of Salt River. They were about twenty-four miles below the Falls, which they reached the following day.

The hostile reception given these former enemies by the people of this frontier community caused Hamilton to remember that Clark had told him that their lives would be in danger when they passed the frontier. The people had learned only the day before that Hamilton had taken Vincennes and in turn had been captured. He thought this was a result of the stoppage of communication on the Ohio by his bands of Indians after he had taken Vincennes.

Only two horses and a little bread and Indian corn could be secured for the long overland journey which began at Louisville. Hunters were expected to provide much of the food needed by these travelers. The local militia furnished guards for the prisoners as they passed from station to station. Each prisoner was required to walk and to carry a pack which contained a bear-skin and a blanket. Hamilton bore, in addition to his pack, a small portmanteau of papers and a box which inclosed his "Journal." Thinking that he might be searched without warning, he hid some important papers in an inner pocket of his waistcoat. The distance traveled each day was increased from ten miles on the first to thirty miles on the fifth. They came into a Shawnee warpath on April 6, and were met by two horses sent from Harrodsburg to help them carry the baggage. The country impressed the Lieutenant-Governor with its luxuriant verdure and the plentiful springs of fine water. Harrodsburg was described by Hamilton as a fort formed by about twenty houses which made an irregular

square. In the inclosure was a copious spring which furnished drinking water.

Hamilton saw for himself how the people of the Kentucky villages had suffered from Indian warfare, which he had directed before his expedition to Vincennes. The people of Harrodsburg were living in hourly apprehension of attack, and he wrote that "these poor inhabitants are worthy of pity." Their livestock was brought into the fort every night and no one dared to leave the inclosure unless armed. The mill had been rendered useless by the Indians. The people regarded the Englishmen as little better than the savages, and Hamilton admitted that their opinion was very excusable considering how the English had been misrepresented and how the people had suffered. He thought, however, that the increase in population would soon enable the settlers to set the savages at defiance.

From Harrodsburg the prisoners proceeded to Logan's Fort, twenty miles distant. Colonel John Bowman was very generous towards the prisoners, secured horses to assist them, and lent one of his own to Hamilton. The women of the village were, however, particularly hostile to the Britishers, who were accosted by them in pretty coarse terms. Captain Benjamin Logan and wife, on the other hand, were very civil and hospitable. Hamilton was not too much disturbed about his reception, for he noted in his "Journal" the romantic situation of Logan's Fort among the wooded hills with a stream of fine water flowing along the foot of the hills and turning a small gristmill.

The next station through which the prisoners passed was Whitley's Fort where some food was secured for the next part of the journey. From here the party followed Skaggs Creek which it forded some forty times. Here Hamilton saw the cane for which Kentucky was famous. On April 21 he observed that they began to cross the mountains, and horses and riders became completely jaded. The next day they came to Rock Castle Creek, which is a branch of the Cumberland River. Mountainous scenery appealed to the Lieutenant-Governor, and he observed, "The scene is beautifull, the trees being in high beauty, the water bright, the weather clear, . . . I could not but enjoy this romantic prospect . . . ." From a dangerous enemy Hamilton had become, even

as a prisoner, an admirer of Kentucky, evidence of the reality of the beauty which entranced the "long hunters."

At this point Colonel Richard Calloway with the local militia took charge of the prisoners and endeavored to make a show of his military knowledge, which appeared ridiculous to Hamilton who had served under Wolfe at Quebec. Calloway immediately posted sentries and that night it rained. To Hamilton the precautions seemed unnecessary for not one of the prisoners "could have made use of his liberty, without guides, provision and shoes being found them." The road became exceedingly difficult as the Englishmen passed over steep hills which the horses scrambled up and slid down.

They came on March 24 to the Great War Path of the Shawnee. Hamilton made note of the trees where the Indians had raised the bark, carved figures and characters on the trunks with their knives and tomahawks, and then rubbed vermilion into the carving. By this method they left a record of their numbers, route, prisoners, and the number of persons they had killed. The next day the party passed over the Cumberland, or Shawnee, River, and on the twenty-sixth crossed Cumberland Mountain and entered Powell's Valley. It is interesting to note that Hamilton did not refer to Cumberland Gap. Perhaps a tired and jaded stranger was so impressed with the difficulty of crossing the mountain that he scarcely noticed the pass.

Although rain almost kept the marchers from building a fire the night they spent in Powell's Valley, Hamilton described the natural beauty of the region, the clover, the rising ground ornamented by a variety of trees, evergreens, and shrubs, a fine stream of water, Spring Cave, and a natural bridge. He made a personal investigation of the cave and bridge. On the next day, March 28, the party crossed Powell's Mountain and a day later forded Clinch River, where some of the men narrowly escaped drowning. Sleet and hail and a crooked, steep, and miry road combined to make their journey very difficult.

On May 1 the weary prisoners passed through Moccasin Gap into the Holston Valley, where the original Boone's Trace began. They had finally left the wilderness behind and had reached the settlements where the little Watauga community

had been in existence less than a decade. There were wagon roads and farms, but provisions were still scarce because this region was subject to Cherokee raids from the south and from Shawnee raids by way of the Kanawha Valley. The travelers were hospitably received by a "Mr: Madison," who fed them well, conversed cheerfully with them, and enabled them to rest. He furnished Hamilton with the opportunity to sleep on a bed and between sheets, a luxury which he had not enjoyed for months. The pretty, well-cropped farm, with a large garden and orchard set off by lofty and rugged mountains, formed a pleasing contrast to the scenes along the Wilderness Road. The importance which the Lieutenant-Governor attached to a good bed is indicated by his entry for May 2, which contained only the information that General Lewis furnished him and Major Hay with beds. Breakfast was eaten the next morning with Colonel Evan[?] Shelby, whose farm was in extraordinary good order and condition.<sup>117</sup> It is an interesting point that Hamilton met and was entertained by so many of the Revolutionary frontier leaders on his way to prison. Their hospitable treatment of him is also an indication of the soundness of their characters.

When night came the British were not so fortunate, and Hamilton commented that "riches could not keep penury out of doors" at the house in which he spent the night. Colonel Arthur Campbell was their host on the succeeding two nights and, although he was very civil, some of the prisoners "who were pressed with hunger and fatigue broke out into very serious language" because of the lack of attention to their needs. This situation was caused in part by the difficulty of procuring provisions in that part of the country. Campbell wrote at a later time to Hamilton that his father had served Hamilton's grandfather as steward and had saved Hamilton's father from drowning in the Boyne.<sup>118</sup>

Even in southwestern Virginia these Englishmen were regarded with horror "as being of kindred manner with the savages," but the leading citizens generally received them with kindness. When they reached the New River, they were hospitably entertained at the home of Colonel William Ingles.<sup>119</sup> Hamilton retold briefly in his "Journal" the story of the captivity



of Mrs. Ingles by the Indians and of her remarkable escape, and described her melancholy appearance. He also noted their attractive daughter, who presided at the dinner table with ease, grace, and simplicity. Again he observed the scenery, the beautiful river, the wooded hills, and the improved and well-stocked farm. Although the people frequently regarded him as a hated enemy, he seemed to bear no resentment even for occasional shabby treatment and he became an obvious admirer of the land.

The party soon reached the Roanoke River and after following it some distance crossed the Blue Ridge just north of Roanoke. They forded Otter Creek and Otter River before they came to the town of Bedford. The devastation of war had been serious in this part of Virginia, for Hamilton wrote that Bedford was nearly deserted and that a plentiful meal was difficult to get. At Lynchburg, on the James River, two canoes were lashed together to form a raft and the group then proceeded down the river towards Richmond.

On May 20 Hamilton met a Brigadier Hamilton and a Major Kirkman of the British army, who were very cordial and polite to him. He was also recognized by a Captain Freeman who had been taken prisoner when Burgoyne surrendered and who had been aid-de-camp to Baron Friedrich Adolph Riedesel, the commander of the Brunswick contingent of the German mercenaries. Freeman took letters from the Lieutenant-Governor to General Haldimand and to Major General William Phillips.<sup>120</sup> This was the first time that Hamilton had opportunity to send word to the representatives of his government since his capture at Vincennes. To the former he inclosed a copy of the capitulation. After the pleasing experiences of meeting these military leaders, he was disgusted at having to stay with a brutal and exacting landlord for the night.

Another landlord, a Quaker, Thomas Pleasants, was described by Hamilton as hospitable, humane, candid, liberal, generous, and sensible. He was very kind to the Englishmen although his small house was already crowded with a large family and his resources reduced by the payment of triple taxes, probably because of his refusal to participate in the war. Hamilton hoped to stay with him for some time, but on the day after his



arrival he was ordered to Chesterfield.

On the way, he was permitted to choose his own road and consequently became lost. He reached Richmond at 1 A. M. the next morning. The sentries would not permit him to enter the town nor would they call the officer in charge at that time of night. Consequently the Lieutenant-Governor spent the remaining hours before morning on the ground. The people of Richmond were not friendly to the prisoners, but were very curious to see these men whom they regarded as more bloodthirsty than Herod the Tetrarch. The prisoners were marched on to Chesterfield.

After two weeks of imprisonment under a jealous guard, an officer arrived with a written order from Thomas Jefferson, Governor of Virginia, for the removal of William La Mothe and Henry Hamilton in irons to the jail at Williamsburg. The officer, according to the chief prisoner, acted with reluctance and civility, but Hamilton complained about this treatment. The first day's journey of thirty miles tired his patience and wearied his body. He recalled the fatigues of the long journey from Vincennes, from which he believed he had not fully recovered. He noted that he had been poorly clothed and only half-fed. His spirits were depressed when he remembered that he had been menaced and reviled. The guard stopped on the way to remove and to replace the rivets of his handcuffs which had irritated his skin and caused his wrists to swell. When boils appeared on his legs the next day, he was permitted to walk, but walking when bothered with boils could not have been pleasant, and to make matters worse rain increased the disagreeableness of the journey.

Hamilton and La Mothe arrived before the governor's palace at Williamsburg about sundown on June 16, wet, jaded, and dispirited. The officer went in to report to Governor Jefferson and left the prisoners to be "a spectacle to a gazing crowd" of curious persons. Hamilton expected to be treated civilly by the leading official of the state, but after waiting a half-hour without attention from the Governor, he flung himself from his horse fatigued and mortified. He was soon taken, however, to the common jail, where his treatment was even more mortifying.

The very day during which Hamilton arrived in Williams-

burg, the Council and Governor of Virginia considered the fate of the prisoners, Hamilton, Dejean, and La Mothe. They found officially that Hamilton had incited the Indians to perpetrate their accustomed cruelties on the citizens of the states without distinction of age, sex, or condition; that he had sent considerable detachments of tribesmen against the frontier settlements and had called a great council at the mouth of the Tennessee to plan a further campaign; that he mistreated citizens of Virginia who were carried to Detroit, especially John Dodge, who was loaded with irons, thrown into a dungeon, deprived of heat in the dead of winter, and harassed until near death; and that he gave "standing rewards for scalps, but offered none for prisoners."<sup>121</sup> The long recital of the wrongs supposedly suffered by John Dodge reveals the source of much of their information and a letter of Dodge's, which has been preserved indicates the spirit of personal revenge in which that information was given. He wrote from Sandusky, July 13, 1779, "I am going to Williamsburg in a few days to prosecute Hamilton & that rascal Dejean, Lamothe likewise . . . they will be all hanged without redemption."<sup>122</sup>

The Council accused Dejean of being the willing and cordial instrument of the Lieutenant-Governor and of increasing rather than relaxing his severities. La Mothe was described as a captain of Indian scalping parties. The British in general were charged with mistreatment of prisoners in loathsome jails, dungeons, and prison ships; and with inadequate feeding of prisoners, until imprisonment and death often seemed synonymous. Americans were declared, in contrast, to treat their prisoners almost ideally, a statement which could not have been made after the incarceration of Hamilton and his fellow officers. The Council concluded its finding by declaring that justice to its fighting men called for severe retaliation, measure for measure, and that these officers who had distinguished themselves by their cruel conduct in war were fit subjects on which to begin the work of retaliation. They were, therefore, to be put in irons, confined in the dungeon, debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and excluded from all communication ("converse") except with the jailer.

Accordingly Hamilton, La Mothe, and Dejean were put in

the dungeon, ten feet square according to Hamilton, in which were other prisoners, two of whom were counterfeiters and one or more were deserters. They were denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, except as the jailer might permit. As a result Hamilton's "Journal" came to an end. Some of his papers which were taken from him he thought would have proved his treatment unjustified. He managed, however, to preserve his "Journal" and copies of other useful papers. His handcuffs were exchanged for fetters which weighed eighteen pounds.

The British authorities protested this treatment. Major General Phillips wrote to Governor Jefferson and insisted that a prisoner who surrendered by means of a capitulation was not to be kept in close confinement. Jefferson appealed to General George Washington about this point. In his letter he wrote that he had "the highest idea of the sacredness of those Contracts which take place between nation and nation at war, and would be the last on earth who should do anything in violation of them."<sup>123</sup> Governor Haldimand of Canada also wrote protesting Hamilton's confinement. Jefferson replied that Hamilton was confined as a matter of national retaliation because of the ill usage of American prisoners by the British and because his own personal conduct in directing Indian warfare fully justified this imprisonment. Jefferson insisted that prisoners of war were to be treated alike unless in their surrender they were able to secure special terms which exempted them from imprisonment or other punishment. Since Hamilton's capitulation did not specify any conditions, there was nothing in the fact that he capitulated to prevent his imprisonment or to distinguish him from one who surrendered without terms.<sup>124</sup> General Washington wrote to Jefferson, "I have no doubt of the propriety of the proceedings against Governor Hamilton, Dejean and Lamothe. Their cruelties to our unhappy people who have fallen into their hands and the measures they have pursued to excite the savages to acts of the most wanton barbarity, discriminate them from common prisoners, and most fully authorize the treatment decreed in their case."<sup>125</sup>

After a month's reflection and consultations with other officers, Washington again wrote to Jefferson suggesting that the capitulation did exempt Hamilton from any uncommon severity.

If Jefferson felt that it was necessary to continue Hamilton's imprisonment in order to satisfy the people, "it may be proper to publish all the Cruelties he has committed or abetted . . . ." Washington defended Jefferson's conduct, "altho' the practice of War may not justify all the measures that have been taken against him . . . ," and cautiously suggested that he "be confined to a Room."<sup>126</sup>

After forty-five days of imprisonment Hamilton prevailed upon the jailer to permit him to write a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia. His first letter was a vigorous protest against his imprisonment without trial and conviction. The jailer refused to accept this protest and Hamilton wrote a milder protest about his fellow officers' being imprisoned for obeying his orders and suggested that they be released and he alone confined. This was not answered and one may wonder whether it was delivered or destroyed by the jailer.

Major Hay and four other officers were brought about this time from Chesterfield and thrown into the dungeon with Hamilton. The ventilation was so poor that the surgeon, one of the new arrivals, almost died of suffocation and asthma. The jailer removed the doctor to his own room, and some of the prisoners offered to remain in the cells part of the time so the English officers could have use of the court. On various occasions the other prisoners and even persons outside the jail endeavored to alleviate the rigor of the treatment accorded the Englishmen. Hamilton felt that the inmates of the jail were more humane than Governor Jefferson and the members of the Council.<sup>127</sup>

When Washington's letter of August 6 reached Virginia, the Council, in Jefferson's absence, had the irons taken off the prisoners. On October 1 they were offered a parole, which they rejected. It required them to promise that they would not leave such limits as should be prescribed for them, would not say anything prejudicial to the United States, would not confer with other prisoners except those consigned to the same quarters, or send or receive intelligence but in the presence of an officer of Virginia. Apparently their distrust of Virginians was by this time so great that they assumed the parole was only intended to trap them into violation and to justify further harsh treatment.



Dejean and La Mothe, however, signed on October 11, and were released from close confinement. Washington assured Jefferson that the parole offered was similar to paroles used by the British and that the refusal further justified close confinement of Hamilton, which was continued.<sup>128</sup>

The British Commissary of Prisoners added his protest to that of Hamilton. He wrote to the American Commissary threatening retaliation and stating that Virginians in the hands of the British would not be exchanged until relief was granted to Hamilton. At the request of Virginia officers in captivity an American officer was permitted to come out from New York to entreat indulgence for Hamilton, in order to save the Virginians from similar treatment. One of the officers to suffer this treatment was Captain Willing, who had been put in irons for a time. Washington raised the question as to the expediency of relaxing the present treatment of Hamilton.<sup>129</sup>

The British threat angered Jefferson greatly. He wrote to Washington, "We have too many of their subjects in our power & too much iron to clothe them with & I will add too much resolution to avail ourselves of both to fear their pretended retaliation." He stopped a group of privates who were ready to be exchanged, but the Council did not order Hamilton to be placed in irons again. Jefferson made preparations to retaliate, however, to match whatever actions the British might take.<sup>130</sup>

To Colonel George Mathews, the Virginia officer who brought the letter from the British Commissary of Prisoners, Jefferson explained carefully Virginia's conduct towards Hamilton. He assured Mathews, "Their officers & soldiers in our hands are pledges for your safety: we are determined to use them as such. Iron will be retaliated by iron but a great multiplication on distinguished objects: prison ships by prison ships, and like for like in general." Colonel Mathews and even Governor Jefferson, however, must have realized that the controversy over Virginia's treatment of Hamilton did not make the lot of Virginians in the hands of the British any easier or shorten the time of their imprisonment. Washington tried to calm Jefferson's emotions by writing, "I would hope with your Excellency, that there will be no necessity for a competition in cruelty with the



enemy," and by telling Jefferson that Sir Henry Clinton had improved the treatment accorded American prisoners.<sup>131</sup>

During the winter Hamilton suffered from the cold since there was no provision for fire, and he found it necessary to remain wrapped in his blanket day and night. On Christmas day the jailer took the prisoners to an upper room which had a fireplace but a window without glass. They stuffed a blanket in the window and built a fire, but were returned to the dungeon at night. In April, 1780 Lieutenant Schieffelin and De Rocheblave escaped and eventually reached New York, and on June 1 Captain Maisonville evaded surveillance long enough to commit suicide.<sup>132</sup>

Throughout the year 1780 the British tried to secure the release of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton by offering a general exchange, a partial exchange, or a trade of Hamilton for a Lieutenant Colonel Charles François Dubuysson, an aid to General Johann DeKalb who was wounded and taken prisoner at Camden in August, 1780; but Virginia resisted all these efforts. This was justified in the minds of Virginians in this manner: "The State of Virginia, sensible of the dangerous influence which Governor Hamilton holds over the Indians, have absolutely refused to exchange him on any terms, for the present . . ."<sup>133</sup>

Virginia did, however, relax her rigorous treatment of Governor Hamilton, for on August 1, 1780 the English officers were removed from the jail at Williamsburg and marched to Chesterfield, Hanover, or King William Court House. Hamilton, who was taken to Chesterfield, wrote that his confinement was then rendered very tolerable, that he and Major Hay were permitted to walk about in the neighborhood of the jail, and that they were well attended when suffering from a fever.

Hamilton's insistence that he would not sign a parole was also finally overcome. Letters from friends in the British forces were brought to him urging him to accept and telling him that there was little hope of securing his exchange as long as he refused to accept a parole. Perhaps his better treatment lessened his suspicions of the Virginians. At any rate, on October 10, 1780 he signed a parole, and was soon permitted to go to New York, where he was given new clothes and was among friends. Finally

on March 4, 1781 he was exchanged and on June 21 he reached England, more than two years after his surrender at Vincennes.<sup>134</sup>

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### *Changes in Evaluation: Hamilton and Clark*

WHAT changes are necessary in the previously accepted account of the American Revolution in the West? Is Henry Hamilton still the "Hair-buyer General"? Was Clark's victory a personal achievement or was it the result of many favorable factors in addition to his admitted ability? What part did the French inhabitants play in the failure of Hamilton's expedition? Were the Indians mere bystanders? Was Clark's success an isolated event or was it related significantly to developments in Canada and even in England? Is there anything new to be learned about Clark?

A study of the writings and the career of Hamilton reveals that, although he was engaged in a cruel type of warfare for a little more than a year, the evidence does not justify the historian in calling him the "Hair-buyer." Since he was superintendent of Indians as well as Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit, he was ex-

pected to keep his tribesmen under the influence of the English government. This was a particularly difficult task since Carleton would not permit them to go to war, although they had their own reasons for waging war against the frontiersmen and although the Iroquois were already being employed by the British against the Colonists. Consequently Hamilton's position became increasingly irksome and he longed for a more active part in the stirring events of the day. He may have recommended the employment of the Western Indians as Lord George Germain wrote, but no letter containing such a suggestion has been found. Until such a document is located, historians should not categorically assert his responsibility for initiating warfare in the West. From November 9, 1775, when he arrived in Detroit, until he received Germain's order on June 16, 1777, he was engaged in keeping the Indians at peace. This is his own statement, but unfriendly writers have cited no contradictory evidence other than that he resisted American efforts to win over the Indians. Unless he wrote falsely, the raids on the Ohio Valley frontier in this period cannot be attributed to him. The Indian attacks in 1776 and 1777 could have been caused by the encroachment of frontiersmen on Indian lands, by the instigation of Guy Johnson, the Iroquois, or English leaders in the Eastern theater of war. The murder of Chief Cornstalk in the autumn of 1777 caused the Shawnee to join in the war against the frontier.

When the order to employ the Indians was sent to him, Hamilton proceeded with energy. Parties of Indian warriors under white leaders were thrown against the frontier settlements. They carried copies of proclamations inviting loyalists to come to Detroit and to serve the king. Hamilton urged the war parties to fight against men in arms, not against defenseless men, women, and children. His letters reveal that he knew he was engaged in a cruel type of warfare and that twice as many scalps as prisoners were being brought to Detroit. He insisted that he affected a considerable change in the Indian method of waging war, but it seems unlikely that he could have convinced the Kentuckians of the truth of this allegation. There were instances of humane treatment but they were outnumbered by deeds of cruelty. Had he been permitted to use the soldiers of the garrison, the white

leaders might have been able to maintain greater control over the war parties. Had he been permitted to undertake an expedition to Fort Pitt, he would have been engaged in a more regular type of war.

When all allowances are made in his favor, one must conclude that he was so eager to please his superiors in England that he was callous to the inevitable barbarism of the warriors and the cruel suffering inherent in their methods of warfare. This conclusion is not based upon the exaggerated criticisms of his enemies but on the statements in his own letters and the known deeds of his warriors.

The responsibility of Hamilton for Indian raids did not extend beyond the fall of 1778 or, at the most, the following winter. When he embarked upon his expedition to Vincennes, he was unable to continue the direction of Indian warfare except as it was related to the expedition, the cloture of the Ohio, the paths away from Vincennes, and the Illinois villages. He left Detroit on October 7, 1778; he surrendered to Clark on February 24, 1779. Someone else was responsible for the direction of Indian warfare thereafter, and the worst of atrocities came in this later period. Among them were such events as the expedition of Captain Henry Bird, which took Ruddle's and Martin's stations in Kentucky; the massacre of the Moravian Indians by the frontiersmen; the burning of Colonel William Crawford at the stake; and the massacre of Lochry's Creek. Surely the person or persons accountable for these inhumanities deserve to share some of the odium usually heaped upon Hamilton.

Finally, the charge that he bought scalps lacks proof. The presents which he gave the Indians were for their services as warriors rather than for scalps. He claimed that he repeatedly urged that prisoners be brought to him alive, and the stories that he refused to redeem prisoners appear to be false. The practical difference between the two methods may not have been great, and in either case it was a cruel and nasty business of which he seems to have tired rather quickly and from which he sought escape into more regular warfare. The expedition to Vincennes may have been attractive to him in part because it offered such an escape.



Hamilton's record as a Lieutenant-Governor at Detroit and later at Quebec does not appear particularly successful, but the critics of his work seem not to have given proper attention to the difficulties of his position. At Detroit he was expected to govern the inhabitants and to keep the Indians under control. The people were French Canadians, who were unreconciled to the British conquest of their land. The post was surrounded by a vast wilderness, the Indian inhabitants of which had not forgotten their friendship for their former "Father," the King of France. The fur traders were always an unruly lot as they plied their business between the post and the forests of the Indians. Hamilton could not, however, command the garrison at Detroit, and at first he was not given judicial authority even though there were no judges in the community. At the beginning he was cut off from Governor Carleton by the Americans at Montreal; and the disagreement between Carleton and Germain led the Governor to refuse to advise Hamilton in 1777, because he thought Hamilton had dealt directly with Germain. Under these circumstances the charges that the Lieutenant-Governor was oppressive and arbitrary in keeping the traders and the inhabitants in control and loyal to England are evidence that he was industrious in doing his duty. His later administration of Quebec is not a part of this study, but the criticisms of his work there may have originated largely in his departure from the preference of his predecessor for the French-Canadian inhabitants over the newly arrived English. This change was a natural development resulting from Hamilton's previous experiences with the French. It was also an inevitable policy for the British if they were to induce Englishmen to settle in numbers in Canada.

Whether or not Hamilton paid for scalps, his literary and artistic remains give information of his better traits and of his personal defects. He was a man of some education and culture, a descendant of a noble Scottish family, a captain in the British army in his younger days, a colonial official in positions of responsibility, an author of important reports, and an amateur artist. It is not too much to say that he emerges as a brave, honest, and honorable man.

But if his good qualities appear more clearly from this study

of his career and writings, the same may be said of his faults. His individual imperfections and their influence upon his failure are now evident. He made decisions quickly without careful consideration of the entire situation and may, therefore, be adjudged impulsive. Although he was given very little guidance by superior officials during 1777 and 1778 and although Clark created a situation in the West which called for action, Hamilton did not wait for advice or help from Governor Haldimand. He did not give other officials much opportunity to assist, but hurried his departure to attack the Virginian, fearful of the lateness of the season and of the possibility that his superior might keep him in his role of director of Indian warfare.

He exhibited much industry, perseverance, and managerial ability on the journey to Vincennes and in repairing Fort Sackville during the winter, but he showed little conception of his actual position. He made little effort to secure assistance from Canada or the Southern Indians. He permitted a number of the officers of the Indian Department, the Detroit militia, and the Indians to return home without having any means of filling the vacancies in his ranks. He alienated many of the French inhabitants of Vincennes, or at least failed to attract their loyalty and aid. He was intolerant of their vices and their different customs. To his impulsiveness must be added poor judgment as another of his defects.

He was not an accomplished military man, although he had gained some experience. He might have continued his expedition from Vincennes to Kaskaskia and possibly have caught the unprepared Clark by surprise. Why he neglected to cover the spaces between the pickets of the fort while he was making other repairs will never be known. During the attack on Fort Sackville he failed to take full advantage of his artillery and destroy the houses that were protecting his attackers. He was humane, but his kindness probably contributed to his defeat.

In addition to a revaluation of Hamilton's character and career, Clark's victory can now be better related to the larger and more general forces operating in the West. Although his strong personal character and perseverance cannot be omitted from any analysis of the situation, there were other factors of wider sig-

nificance. The British government from 1763 had failed to show much knowledge or appreciation of the West. The evacuation of forts Chartres and Pitt, the order for the abandonment of Vincennes, and the refusal to permit a new colony to be established in the interior are evidence that the opportunity which came to the British as a result of the Seven Years' War was not understood. When Hamilton was not informed of the Franco-American Alliance and when Haldimand wrote that no essential point would be gained by the reduction of Fort Pitt, the government was running true to form.

Not only had the British failed to grasp the significance of the interior, but the government had been particularly ineffective in respect to the western posts. Abbott's short stay at Vincennes was quite unimportant, and the Lieutenant-Governor for the Illinois did not leave England. Hamilton's authority at Detroit was not defined, and his relations with Carleton had been very slight and lacking in helpfulness. The appointment of General John Burgoyne to command the New York invasion of 1777 led Carleton to refuse to take responsibility for military activity and to ask to be relieved of the governorship. Haldimand succeeded him just as the news reached Hamilton that Clark had arrived in the Illinois. The new governor did not have time to inform himself of affairs before he was confronted with Hamilton's earlier request to attack Pittsburgh and his more immediate and urgent plan to attack Clark. Haldimand did not seem to comprehend the importance of either and failed to give Hamilton any effective assistance with his expedition.

The extent to which Hamilton was dependent upon the French has not been appreciated. The inhabitants of Detroit, the militia, and the officers of the Indian Department were almost entirely French. To them the British were conquerors. The events of Pontiac's uprising indicate that they hoped for the return of the interior to the French King. There is no doubt that the years following this uprising tended to convince them of the futility of that hope. They accustomed themselves to British rule, but the events of Hamilton's expedition prove that they accepted the British only when their forces were irresistible. The inhabitants of Vincennes and the Illinois villages were also French and

were related to one another and to the people of Detroit. There was a real community of interest between these villages. From the beginning the people of Vincennes showed their preference for Clark and their determination to be on the winning side. French explorers, missionaries, traders, and officials had left in the minds of their descendants a conception of the greatness of the French King and a memory of the olden days when the fleur-de-lis and the cross ruled the great wilderness—a memory that was not obliterated by two decades of British rule. When Hamilton undertook an expedition so far from reinforcements with only thirty-three British regulars, he created a strong probability of defeat.

The Indian tribesmen scattered along America's inland seas and rivers contrasted the easy camaraderie of the rollicking *coureur de bois* and *voyageurs* with the brusque hauteur of the British and made a contribution to Hamilton's failure that should not be overlooked. The Indians of the upper Great Lakes had become fairly attached to the British interests, especially those who had one or more villages in the vicinity of Detroit. They included the Ottawa, Huron, and Potawatomi, to which might be added the Chippewa. The Shawnee began to join the Mingo in their raids during 1777, and early the next year after the murder of Chief Cornstalk they accepted the war belt. As Hamilton reached the headwaters of the Maumee, he contacted the Miami, who seemed willing enough to aid him. Few of the Wea accompanied him, although they were not hostile. When he reached the Kickapoo and the Piankashaw, he found an attitude of neutrality, indifference, and, perhaps, concealed hostility. Vincennes was located among the Piankashaw. All the Indians, regardless of tribe, were dependent upon the white men for many things and were generally to be found upon the winning side. They were accustomed to do business with the traders, who were still French, and with the officers of the Indian Department, who were also French. Although some of the chiefs were obviously faithful to Hamilton and others left no evidence of unfaithfulness, many of them were absent when needed the most, while the Piankashaw turned openly to Clark. The Indians, like the French inhabitants, furnished a poor foundation for success.



News of the Franco-American Alliance was, perhaps, the chief of these general factors which gave Clark such a favorable opportunity. Clark stated its effect upon the French of the Illinois villages, and there is no reason to assume that the people of Vincennes would regard it in any other manner. Hamilton admitted he had heard of rejoicing even at Vincennes and that the Indians were affected by the news. Some influence caused the French officers of the Indian Department and the volunteer militia to decide that they wanted to return to Detroit. Hamilton thought they had been false to him and wanted to leave before he discovered their defection. But what accounts for their defection if it were not the alliance of their country with the nation represented by Clark?

Finally, do the writings of Hamilton change the picture which scholars have drawn of Clark? The answer must be that there are no startling disclosures to be proclaimed, but there are little changes that should check some of the excessive adulation of Clark. There is exaggeration in his account of his victory. He did not capture almost as many prisoners as he had men in his little army. He captured thirty-three British regulars and enough others to bring the total garrison to seventy-nine. Many of the Detroit volunteers and officers in the Indian Department were unwilling to fight and were therefore a handicap rather than a help. Seven of the garrison had been wounded.

There is evidence also of an element of vindictiveness, if not of brutality, in Clark's character. He was responsible for the killing of the Indians who were captured during the battle, and it may be that he personally participated in the killing. The partial scalping of Francis Maisonville, one of the French officers in the Indian service, perhaps on Clark's order was another act of unnecessary brutality. The threat during the negotiation that not a man would be spared if Hamilton did not surrender may be excused as a case of American bluff, but Clark did not behave very kindly to the British after their surrender. Hamilton also mentioned the command to put some of the British in irons, the inattention to the protection of Hamilton and Hay while they were prisoners, and the inadequate provisions for the prisoners on their journey to Williamsburg.



All together these minor facts lead to a larger conclusion that Clark's victory was not by any means a miracle. Hamilton's forces were greatly reduced, the French inhabitants of Vincennes were against him, perhaps half of his garrison was unwilling to fight, many of the Indians who came with him were undependable, and, strange as it may seem, his own humanity was a disadvantage in contrast to Clark's willingness to use rigorous methods. The Franco-American Alliance was probably a significant influence in winning the support of the French for Clark and in alienating many of Hamilton's men and officers.

Clark's character and achievement remain, with the above modifications, otherwise unchanged. His winning personality which attracted most men to him and his knowledge of Indian character which enabled him to bring the natives to his side even though he lacked presents to entice them or military strength to force them, are very evident. His boldness, courage, perseverance, and energy receive further confirmation. His judgment was better than Hamilton's even though he was a younger man. He possessed a higher sense of military methods and strategy than Hamilton, who had greater military experience. Actually the revelation of slight exaggerations in his account and of brutality in his conduct tends not so much to lessen Clark's stature as to check the tendency so obvious in American life to glorify the hero and clothe him with halo and wings which obscure his reality. Among American heroes Clark deserves to stand forth as a man's man, a rugged, tough fighter who refused to be discouraged and who drove himself and his men through to a significant victory.

# *The JOURNAL of* HENRY HAMILTON

1778-1779

## NOTE ON HAMILTON'S JOURNAL

In making the following transcription of Hamilton's Journal certain problems were met for which there did not seem to be an entirely satisfactory solution. Hamilton was quite inconsistent in respect to capitalization, punctuation, French accents, and paragraphing. A serious effort has been made to reproduce the Journal as Hamilton wrote it, but in regard to these items it is impossible to pretend to be exact. It is also quite possible that a few words have been transcribed incorrectly for Hamilton's writing is not always as legible as might be desired. It is believed that the meaning of the Journal has been reproduced without change. The division into chapters and the addition of chapter headings are the work of the editor and are not in the original.



*Detroit to Miamitown,  
Hamilton on the Maumee,  
August 6 to October 27, 1778.*

August 6th. 1778. Mr. Francis Maisonville arrived at Detroit from the Illinois, with an account of the attack of Kaskaskias by the Americans— The Officer who commanded the party had made Monsieur de Rocheblave prisoner, had confined him in his own house and laid him in irons—no opposition made by the inhabitants—

8th. This intelligence was communicated to the command-

ing officer at Niagara, (Lieut. Colonel Bolton)<sup>135</sup> by letters, one sent by land by a Savage, who was but 9 Days going, another in a batteau, by Lieutenant Chevalier Chabert— By these messengers the letters for the Commander in chief at Quebec got safe to Niagara—

9th. Monsieur de Celeron was dispatched with belts for the Indians of the Miamis and Ouabache rivers; He had orders to have the cannon at Fort Sackville spiked and the trunnions knock'd off; (if possible) his instructions were given him in writing—

11th. Learned the arrival of His Excellency General Haldimand at Quebec—

28th. Lieutenant Chevr. Chabert arrived from Niagara, and his Brother Joncaire Chabert with 70 Wyndatts from a scout.

September 7th. The Dunmore sailed for Niagara, with letters and returns for the Commander in chief.<sup>136</sup>

8th. receiv'd letters from His Excellency General Haldimand.<sup>137</sup>

15th. Mr. Bellefeuille arrived with letters from His Excellency.<sup>138</sup>

16th. wrote to the commanding Officer at Michillimakinac Major De Peyster, informing him of my design of going to the Illinois—

17th. wrote to General Haldimand Lt. Governor Cramahe<sup>139</sup> & Colol. Bolton.

18th. wrote to Lieutt. Govr. Cramahe, Major Carleton,<sup>140</sup> Mr. Goddard (Inspector of Indian accompts at Montreal, & Baron de Longueville.<sup>141</sup>

20th. Major Hay review'd the 4 companies of militia on the N. side of the river, and made his report.— Memorandum Lieutt, Cassety of Captain J. Baptiste Campau's company did not appear, nor did one man of the Company turn out volunteer.

22. Monsieur Hypolite des Ruisseaux acknowledged he had had intimation of the design of the americans, before he left the Illinois which was the 9th. of June<sup>142</sup>

This day Major Hay made his report of the 2 companies on the S. side of the river. Memorandum. Lieutenant Marantete of Captain Maisonville's company, of Militia, having declared aloud when under arms, that he would not march, and having repeatedly

absented himself from reviews was ordered to be reduced and to do his *Corvée* as a private man.—

23. orderd for the Miamis 15. large pirogues, under Captain McLeod Lieutenant Charles Gouin,<sup>143</sup> and Mr. Nicholas Lorrain storekeeper at the Miamis—the loading consisted of 26,800 lb of Flour, in bags— 24 firkins of butter,— 37 half barrels of pork— 31 bales of dry goods, mark'd [with an arrow]— 2 pair of cartwheels shod,— 1 pair of cartwheels unshod— Total weight 33,200 lb—<sup>144</sup>

The Ottawas, Chippoways, and Pouteouattamies were called to council, who told me they would accompany me— The Hurons who were also to have come, were prevented by bad weather but on the 24th. Dawatong or Sastaharitze and other Wyndatts came and offerd their services, which were accepted. &c.<sup>145</sup>

This day receiv'd the Volunteers from the several companies of Militia in the settlement to be formed into two detachments, under the name of volunteer chasseurs.— Being assembled on the common the oath of allegiance was tenderd to them, and to all the Officers and men of the militia and Indian department. I took this opportunity of disarming the disaffected, made them hawle the cannon from the Barracks to camp, appointed Officers to the detachment of chasseurs— Afternoon attended at an Indian feast— at 4 p m. the convoi of provision set off for the Miamis under the direction of C. McLeod, &c. and an escort of 50 of the Militia— 5 pairs of Bullocks ten horses with lastsaddles and geer for the carrying place, with 7 of the Militia—

25th. This day La Mothe's company with their arms & knapsacks at exercise, marched them to St. Bernards bridge, practiced them in defending and attacking from bloody bridge to St. Bernard's—<sup>146</sup>

wrote a letter jointly with Captain Lernoult to Louison Chevalier at St. Joseph's, requiring him to keep the Pouteouattamies at that Village till they should hear I was arrived at the Miamis— sent off the letter by Wyndeego chief of the P. of Detroit.<sup>147</sup>

prepared a present for the Shawanese with a speech to be carried by Captain McKee, exhorting them to perseverance, and desiring that some of their chiefs should meet me at the Miami—



that the lake Indians were risen to accompany me &ca.<sup>148</sup>

26th. Charles Baubin arrived with letters from the Miamis Town,<sup>149</sup> he brought the talk of the Chickasaas to the Ouabache Indians,<sup>150</sup> and a letter from Mons: de Celoron—

27th. Captn. McKee set off— Lieutt. La Piconiere de Quindre with a Serjeant and 12 of the militia, the boatbuilder, master carpenter, with tools & 20 horses with provisions, set off for the carrying place<sup>151</sup> for the repairing the road, building a storehouse, & ca—

28th. encamped the volunteer detachments on the common—

29th. met the 4 nations in council, read to them the speeches of the Chickasaas, and Peankashaas and other Ouabash Indians, also those of the Virginians to these last— They expressed themselves as I could wish—

30th. A strong party of Chippoweys of Massigaiash's band came to offer their services. wrote a letter in Spanish to the officer commanding at St. Genevieve on the W. side of the Mississippi opposite Kaskaskias—<sup>152</sup> wrote to the Commr. in Chief enclosing monthly return of Officers on the enterprize, speeches of the Chichasaas— extract of a council held 24th. instt— copies of letter and orders—

October 2. A return was this day given in of 13 batteaus calked and fitted with oars & ca capable of carrying 39,300 Lbs, and 17 pirogues and canoes to carry 33,700, Tot. 73,000 lbs

This afternoon an Indian feast on the common, all seem'd in good temper and welldisposed—

enclosed to the commander in chief returns &ca. with the dates as follow— Copy of orders, and extracts of letters containing orders, 30th. Sepr:— Speeches of the Chickasaas &ca 27th. Do. Monthly return of the Garrison— 30th. Do. Extract of a council— 24th. Do. Return of officers &ca. on the enterprize to St. Vincennes 30th. Do. Copy of a letter to the Spanish Commandant at St. Genevieve 30th Do.<sup>153</sup>

5th. This evening arrived Lieutt. Charles Gouin of the Militia and his brother Nicholas, in two days from Captn. M Leod in the Miamis river, with advice that the rebels were advanced to Ouiattanon, that they were joined by 200 French, that they had

French and Spanish Flags, that they were expected to be immediately at the Miamis, and that Monsieur de Celoron was to be at Detroit on the 6th.—

6th. Tents struck before day— embarkd the 6 pounder, and part of the stores— This morning at 7 o'clock, three Hurons arrived with accounts which they said might be depended on, that the Rebels in several detachmts. of 400 men each were advancing by different routes to Detroit, that the advanced guard of 800 men preceded the main body— little credit given to this report, such being frequent, however sent for the Indian chiefs, told them the news with my opinion upon it— found them well disposed— This Evening a reinforcement of 50 Regulars under the orders of Captain Byrd—<sup>154</sup> from Niagara—

7th Embarked at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past two p m. one single man of the whole appeard in liquor (an Indian)— The disposition of the boats which had orders to keep as close as possible to that one which carried a distinguishing flag, was as follows— The Indians with their Officers and interpreters were divided and formed the front and rear divisions in their canoes— next to them followed the subdivisions of La Mothe's company, one commanded by their captain, in the rear of the 1st division of the Indians, the other by his Lieutt. preceded the rear division of the Indians— The Militia in two divisions were next to them on each flank— a Platoon of the Regulars of the Kings Regiment next to them one on each flank— The Gun Boat[E] with the Artillery men in the Center—

a b c d E d c b a

a a Indians b b Volunteers c c Militia d d Regulars E Gunboat

The Surgeon had orders to keep at or near the center.

On Tryal of the Gunboat she proved too weak, the seams opening on the first discharge, none of the stores were damaged the men leaping out immediately, and assistance given from on shore, she was unloaded, and Lt. DuVernet had another very expeditiously fitted for the purpose— we proceeded without delay and encamped at Riviere rouge before Sunset—<sup>155</sup> A Guard mounted, and Pickett warned— sentries posted &c—

8th. would have taken advantage of calm and Moonlight to

have set off at 2 o'Clock in the morning, but the Indians demurr'd saying it was not their custom to travel in the night when they went to War— set off at 7 in the morning— about 11 met Lt. De Quindre (Fontiney) return'd from an attack of one of the Forts on the Kentucke—<sup>156</sup> He agreed to proceed to Detroit, and return with Lieutt. Showrd of the King's Regiment— The wind rising and Lake Erie too rough, we put in at Isle Celoron,<sup>157</sup> it continued to blow hard with rain and snow the greater part of of the night— This Evening old Raccoon and some Chippoweyes joined us—<sup>158</sup>

9th. About noon the wind having shifted, we embarked— at one met some more of De Quindre's men, who told us they left Mr. de Celoron at Riviere aux roches—<sup>159</sup> soon after Mr. de Celoron came up in a large Pirogue with some packs of Peltry, he rose up and told me the Virginians were at the Miamis, I answer'd him, that I had heard so before— He then told me he had had a conference with the Ouabache Indians which was in his box, he rummaged a long time among his papers, & made as if he would wish to find it, but I could not wait, so pushed on— proceeded till 11 at night, very cloudy with rain, I began to be very apprehensive at [as] the wind rose, and a heavy swell rolled in, we were on a lee shore and it was extremely dark— I determin'd to put in shore as soon as the sternmost boats could come in sight of a light which I carried in the headmost boat— my anxiety for their safety increased every instant, at length I rowed in for the Shore, and was happy to find it no worse than a swamp which took us to the knees— all the boats got safe—

It may be asked why at that Season I should venture to cross from the river's mouth, in hopes of reaching the Miamis river, 12 leagues distant, and set off so late as at noon, risking the safety of us all &ca. I answer, had we waited, contrary winds might have entirely frustrated our design, as when the lake is once thoroughly ruffled at this late season, it is not expected to calm shortly— Traders have been known to be kept embayed by the ice from this time for several weeks, till they were nearly starved— If we succeeded in our push for the Miamis river, we were out of the power of violent winds, and from that our course being S.W. we were to expect milder weather, whereas delay might engage us in

the Ice— in short no time was to be lost—

It blew so hard with violent rain we could scarcely make fire, in the morning we found we had got within a mile of the Mouth of the Miamis river— the point of the bay of Nanguissé.<sup>160</sup> two Wyndatts joyned us here—

10th. At 9 this morning we left this dreary spot, and proceeded up the river to *pointe aux chénes*,<sup>161</sup> where we made fires to dry ourselves and get our arms in order— Some Ottawas at this place informd us Mr: de Celoron had been on both sides the River at the Indian cabins, telling them that the Virginians were arrived at the Miamis— about 11 a m. one Alexander Alais came down the River with letters from Charles Baubin, who informs me that he had (as I had order'd) sent to Riviere a l'Anguille<sup>162</sup> to warn the Indians of that Village of my coming &c— no mention of the Rebels— sent Alais to Detroit with these letters, and acquainted the Commandant with the rascality of Monsieur de Celoron—

Lieutt. Showrd<sup>163</sup> of the King's Regt 1 Sergn. 1 Corp 30 private arrived  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 in the afternoon— Lt. DuVernet got the 6 Pounder out of the boat, mounted and haled [hailed] up a steep bank in 10 minutes—

11th. directed the detachment of the Kings to pitch their tents in the Oaks something advanc'd— embarked about 7 o'clock— Mahingan a young Ottawa chief (my namesake) tho' sick said he would accompany us—<sup>164</sup> We encamped at the foot of the rapids, a league below which we came up with Captain Grant in the Sloop Archangel with 14 Tonns of provision on board—<sup>165</sup> 6 Hurons killed 50 Turkies in a short time, a good omen of plenty for our march— strict orders against firing out of the boats excepting the Indians—

12th. Lieutt. Showrd's piece going off accidentally as he was getting out of his tent before Sunrise this morning, shattered his leg— he was got into a boat as expeditiously as possible, & sent off for Detroit— with the Surgeon and six men— gave the command of the detachment, divided into two platoons to Serjeants Parkinson and Chapman of the King's— Sharp frost last night— proceeded up the rapids with much labor, the boats being mostly deep loaded the artillery boat in particular had from 30 to 40 men



sometimes 50 to hale her against the current which passing swiftly between slippery rocks, made it difficult for the men to keep their footing— The Officers to a man shewed a good example in sharing the fatigue, and the Indians with the utmost alacrity assisted till the last boat was got over safely— one boat was turned down the Stream but no damage was done— The Miamis River which on the Maps appears very inconsiderable far surpasses any river in the three Kingdoms—  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour before Sunset we encamped at the petit Rocher—<sup>166</sup> Letters from Capt. McLeod at the Miamis, Lorrain & Baubin, all agreeing in the falsity of the reports spread by Celoron— wrote to C. Lernoult— Sastaharitze and 5 other Hurons joined us—

13th. One of the Militia tried by a court martial for sleeping on his post— *Macutté Wassong*<sup>167</sup> joined with some Chippoways— Two hours before Sunset sent down the Commissary with ten light batteaus to bring up the provision from the foot of the rapids— 1 Sub 2 Serjeants 40 private— The light batteaus had some difficulty in passing the *Rocher de bout*,<sup>168</sup> the current being very strong & the depth such as to prevent setting, the men made it out by laying hold on the rugged projections of the rock which we kept close aboard— The Artillery boat drawing more water was got up by a Towline made fast to a log and floated down— the men hauled upon this and got her up with little damage— took a view of this rapid— encamped at Mildrum's a league above the rapid—

14th. a fine day sent the powder and stores to the opposite side of the River to be aired— repaired arms &c— baked Bread— Twelve Cabins of Ottawas at this place— great abundance of game— fine Timber— Savages kill a she bear and cub as they were passing below rapide du loup— took a view here—

Last night invited to a feast by the Chippoways, as to me it appeared worth noting, I mention some particulars— Their tents or booths are pitched on each side of the fire place in a strait line, the fire made of long dry logs, extended about 15 Yards in length— The Warriors only present, (their women not appearing,) sat on skins on each side— The War Kettle on the fire with the Flesh (which was Bear) cut into pieces of nearly equal size— All their Arms tyed to a Stake with a War belt (in



token of Union) and painted with Vermillion— We entered one by one, and were shewn to our seats by a person appointed (the Sir Clement of the assembly)— The Servant of the Warriors then helped the guests to the choicest, that is with them the fattest pieces of the Meat, without bread— This domestic serves every one of his nation on a scout, if they are not too numerous when he has one or two aids as occasion requires, it is his exclusive privilege to carry the war kettle, he cuts up the Provision, cooks it, and at solemn feasts divides it, for in general the Kettle hangs over the fire with soup and boullie, and every one helps himself as he is prompted by hunger— The Office of Servant (or Mishinnawey) is held honorable, as it requires strength, alacrity and wonderful patience, a slavish cowardly fellow could not be promoted to this dignity— by the way no reproachfull or angry expression falls from any person when the servant makes a mistake or fails any way in his duty, he is either calmly set to right by an old man, or perhaps the young men may titter, for the most trifling thing is matter of laugh to an Indian— let it be remarkd that there is no such thing in use among them, nor even to be found in their language as an oath or a curse— terms of reproach they have few— Hog is most common— to call a Man Woman is highly injurious, which they express by saying, You are only fit to wear a Machicotte, or pettycoat— to spit in a man's face is the penultimate indignity, to bite off his nose the ultimatum, but this usually is done when liquor has possession of them and happens more commonly among the soft sex than among the men—

To return to our feast; all being seated, and served, before a morsel was touched, the Priest made a short address to the Master of life, at the close of each division of his harangue all the Indians joined in one solemn expression of assent.— The Priest then in more particular terms addressd the Lord of all, imploring his protection in their present undertaking and besought the inferior spirits presiding over rivers, Woods, Mountains, to be propitious— The deepest silence and most serious attention was observable during the prayer, no such thing as laughing or whispering, so common in our places of Worship— It was a clear star:light night, and I was affected by the humble and reverential worship of these poor ignorant but well meaning creatures— Prayers over

they fell to with great keenness and very shortly the bones were all that was left for even the Bear's skin, boiled first and then broiled and cut into thongs had found its way down their throats— The Master of the Feast then took up the Bear's head by a Thong of bark and having given the War shout which was ecchoed by all present, he sung his War song accompanied by the dance as usual, all the company marking the measure by a deep expiration coming from the bottom of their lungs, with a correspondent action of the Body and head, having made the circuit of the fire he laid the head at my feet— I followed his example carefully avoiding stepping over the fire, which is against their rules— ('tis remarkable that when going to war, if an Indian burns or otherways hurts himself he must not start or complain, and if a spark of fire lights on him, he must quickly pick it off without expressing pain-) some Chiefs followed, and some took a bite of the head, saying 'twas the head of the Great Knife, so they stile the Virginians— after these a young Ottawa chief danced, and being of the Nation invited by the Chippoways, kept the head for himself—

This Evening (14th) Neegik<sup>169</sup> brother to Chamintawa whom I had sent to the Miamis for intelligence, arrived— He told me he had met the gros Loup,<sup>170</sup> (a Miamis Chief) who acquainted him with what had passed at St. Vincennes in a conference with the Rebels— On their arrival at that place they pulled down the English Flag left there by Governor Abbott, wrapp'd a stone in it, and threw it into the Ouabache— They convened the Savages, and told them they did not come with any bad design against them— They then presented them with two belts, one red, the other green, telling them if they were disposed for war, to take the first, if for peace the latter—

The old Tobacco, a Peankashaa chief, told the Americans they did not speak to be understood, that he never saw an instance or heard tell of such a thing, as at a conference to present good and evil at one and the same time, therefore he kicked their belts from him— A Young chief of the Pouteouattamies (the son of Lagesse)<sup>171</sup> told them, that if he had not listend to the advice of the old men of his nation, and considered the situation of his wife and children, he would before then have struck a tomahawk in

some of their heads— The Rebels told the Indians they were young and foolish or they would not speak in such terms— That they design'd to go to Detroit thro' the Indian country, that if they found any *fires*, (Indian Villages) in their road, they should tread them out, and if any barriers should be raised (forts built) to stop the road, they should throw them down— That if any Indians stood in the way they might chance to be wounded by the splinters— That on their arrival at Detroit they should shut up their father (Governor Hamilton) like a hog in a pen to fatten, and then when he should be enclosed long enough & fattend they would throw him into the river— That they should get a great reinforcement from the falls of Ohio, and with their friends at the Illinois, they should make six hundred men, and pass to Chicagou, where they would build a fort. The Indians said it was not necessary for such brave men, who could with so much ease tread out their fires, to wait for reinforcements, that they might be assured, not a single Frenchman should accompany them to Detroit—here ended Neegik's account of the Conference—

At half after 3 o'clock p m. arrived the 10 batteaus from the foot of the rapids, with 20,000 lbs. weight of Provision— A Feast this day with the Ottawas, on the bear they killed in the morning— usual ceremonies— Macutte Wassong Priest. Some of the batteaus were calked which were damaged coming up the rapids—

15th. A fall of Snow— had a talk with the Indians— Wassanagnaa<sup>172</sup> and 3 other Pouteouattamies arrived from a scout with the Shawanese—

16th. The calking our batteaus not being finished we were delayd till  $\frac{1}{4}$  after 11 a m.— sent down 3 pirogues to the foot of the rapids for the remainder of the provision, to be left at Wolf rapid, till the light boats from the Miamis, should be sent to fetch it up— Gave Agusheway<sup>173</sup> my own tent— proceeded up the rapids with much labor, the last boats got to where we were to encamp  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour after Sunset— some of the powder, and fixed ammunition got damaged—

17th. were embark'd at Sunrise, got 3 leagues before breakfast, when we halted at la prairie des Mascoutainges—<sup>174</sup> 2 leagues more to where we dined les isles de Maima— 3 leagues after dinner, encamped between isle au Serjeant and isle au

plomb— At 3 o'Clock p m. this day met François Maisonville with Pacane & gros Loup, & Hibon (Miamis Chiefs)<sup>175</sup> Maisonville told me he met Monsieur de Celoron, at Riviere a la roche, who inform'd him the rebels were at the Miamis. Pacane told me the Rebels honor me with the title of the Dog. that they mean to use me as such— that I am to be hawled like a fish out of the water, and to be sundryed— that the Ottawas at River *grande glaize* longd to see us, as also the Miamis,— that the carrying place of the Miamis was in good order—

18th. Before sunrise assisted at a feast with the Chippoways on a she Bear and 3 cubbs presented to them by Lieutt. Chabert. embarkd a little after Sunrise, met 7 return pirogues with 2 Serjt. and 32 of the Militia of Grosse pointe (at Detroit) who had taken up the provision with Captain McLeod— Breakfasted below the pays plats, dined above l'isle aux Aigles, encampd a little above the mouth of Grande glaise river—<sup>176</sup> At this place are about 40 Warriors of the Ottawa nation.—

19th. The Savages having saluted us last night on our arrival, we returned their compliment this morning with 3 rounds from the 6 pounder— The inhabitants of this village assembled this morning to the number of 60, as we could not conveniently furnish them from the boats, gave them an order for cloathing to be supplied them at Detroit— 14 of their Warriors presenting themselves to join us, I thanked them for their goodwill, and taking off my Warbelt, joind it to that of their Chief, and sung the War Song— They said they would follow me wherever I went, tho' I had broke thro' an old custom, in not pouring some rum on the Grindstone which was to sharpen the War Axe— I owned myself in fault, & orderd two bottles of Rum— This with the delay of issuing provision delay'd us 'till ten o'Clock, when we put off well satisfied with the disposition of our Ottawas— The grande Glaize is a River larger than the Severn at Gloucester, and subject to sudden & violent floods— Night coming on we were obliged to encamp a league and half below our destind station—

20th. encamped a league above the Marais de l'Orme,<sup>177</sup> being 7 leagues for this day's progress, the water swift we poled the whole way—

21st. A Messenger arrived from the Rocher de bout with a



letter from Captain McKee, informing me that nine hundred Virginians had taken post at Kushaghking,<sup>178</sup> that the Shawanese and some faithful Delawares, were preparing to oppose them, and wanted ammunition for the purpose, That those 900 men were as an advanc'd guard, to be followed by the remainder of the force destined for the attack of Detroit—

This day advance 7 leagues, the stream for the most part pretty strong—

22. Had struck tents and embarked at Sunrise— Memm. to send powder and ball to the Shawanese from the Miamis Town. To send a trusty Messenger to Ouiattonon for intelligence— To concert with the chiefs about sending to the Illinois by way of Chicagou.

23. Lieutt. F. de Quindre, Mr: McBeth the Surgeon, and Serjt. Sanscrainte joind from Detroit— We lay this night en bas des prairies—

24th. Julien (nickname Charlotte) was sentenced to run the Gauntlope for insolence to his Serjeant, Baron of La Mothe's company— We proceeded about 8 o'clock, and put ashore at the plain near the Miamis Village,<sup>179</sup> where the Young men of that nation saluted as usual with several discharges of small arms, Our Savages returnd the compliment, after which was a kind of mock battle with blank powder— 7 rounds from the six pounder as a salute to the Miamis— In the afternoon aired the damaged powder— Assembled the chiefs of all the Nations present, informd them of the cause of my coming, and thanked all present for their cheerfull and quiet behaviour— told them they were to have an Ox to each nation tomorrow, but no rum—

It appears by all accounts, Monsieur de Celoron had been six or seven days at this place— Memm. to send François Maisenville and a Pouteouattamie, to St. Joseph for Wyndeego— Charles Baubin has 50 bushells of hulled corn, 150 in Ear & 2000 lb Pork— The Miamis at this Village had been told by Celoron, that the Rebels were at Ouiattonon, which alarm'd them so much, that several hid their Stores in the woods— The Gros loup is my authority—

25th. Remain in Camp— order an Ox for the Soldiers, another for the Miami, and one for the other Indians— sent off

six Batteaus with 20,000 lb of Provision for the carrying place— Lt. St. Cosme 1 Serjt. 17 Men— visited the Chiefs of the Miamis in their Village— The Petit Gris,<sup>180</sup> and Gros Loup made me a present of 3 large basketts of Young corn, dried pumpion, and Kidney beans, saying that such coarse fare might serve for my cattle if I could not eat it myself but that they thought I would not scorn their present tho so inconsiderable as it was presented with sincere goodwill—

26th. Met in council in the open field, the chiefs of the Ottawas of Detroit, of the Glaise river, and of the Miamis, of the Chippoways, Wyndatts, Miamis, and some Shawanese— Having smoaked in the pipes of the Quiquaboos, Ouiattonons, Mascouta-inges, Shawanese and Cherakees, I addressd the whole present, returning thanks to the master of life for all favors, our prosperous journey hitherto, happy meeting &ca.

They were saluted with three rounds from the six pounder— I then shewed them the piece of Wampum which had been presented to me by the Ottawas, Chippoways, and Pouteouattamies (which those Nations had given me at Detroit) and called their heart, desiring me to carry it with me where ever I should go— This gave me an opportunity of thanking those Nations for having risen and followed me so cheerfully— I then produced a road belt, by which they were to understand, that I should proceed to any part where the Rebels might be found, in order to dispossess them, and that the road should be constantly kept clear of all incumbrances— Turning to the Shawanese, desired them to mention in their Villages, the good understanding that subsisted among the Nations there present, exhorting them to act with their usual spirit upon the Frontiers— The War Belts were then produced, when taking up my own and that of Major Hay, I sung the War Song, in which I was followed by the Deputy agent, the chiefs, and principal warriors of the different nations— Most of them complained, that I did not wet the Grindstone with Rum, and that they had great difficulty in sharpening their father's Axe. The council was closed with 4 rounds from the six lbr. as a salute from the lake Indians to the River Indians— Memm. To send Lt. DuVernet to the portage tomorrow, with the Powder boats and Gun boat—

Gave a medal to the Old La Toupee— At night had a conference with the Gros loup, who promised to go before us to Ouiattonon (markd on the map Great Ouiat) report the disposition of the Indians there; & send intelligence if any was to be procured—

27th. Lt. DuVernet and Scheffelin set off for the Portage with 4 boats and an escort of 32 men—

Some Pouteouattamies from St. Joseph arrived with Louison Chevalier, and the Old Chief Nanaquibé— The chiefs of the Lake Indians came in the evening to my Tent and talked upon the belt of the Chickasaas sent to the Shawanese and Delaweys, and by them to the Miamis, which they produced, the purport of this belt was to exhort them to unite for the purpose of repelling the Virginians, and to invite the other nations to join them. They also produced the String which the Virginians had sent to the Indians on the Ouabache, informing them of their intention of going to Detroit, and seizing me &ca.— It appears the Old Tobacco and his son (called the young Tobacco) are strong with the Virginians— The Grande Coête<sup>181</sup> (a Peankasháa chief) had declared he should act in conformity with his elder Brothers, meaning the Quiquaboos and Ouiattanons— The Spaniards advised the Indians not to credit the Virginians on their assurances, as they are incapable from their poverty to make good their promises— Egushewai told me the Miamias were desirous of having an axe presented to them— I agree to it—

*The Upper Wabash, Miamitown to Ouiatenon,  
October 28, to November 28, 1778.*

28th. Wrote to General Haldimand—<sup>182</sup> C. Lernoult— Mr: Macomb— Sent off Captain La Mothe to the portage with orders to assist with his men in passing the boats—

Had a conference with the Pouteouattamies of St. Joseph—<sup>183</sup> Met the chiefs of the several nations assembled on the plain, at a feast given by the Ottawas to the Miamis and other Indians— prefaced a spirit of union— then addressed Nanaquibé an old chief of the Pouteouattamies of St. Joseph, commended his

zeal in coming so far at his advanced age to give an example to the young men— having touched upon the impropriety of his wearing a Medal of the French King while the King of G. Britain supplied them with ammunitiion and all necessaries— having an English Medal ready, I made the exchange— The War Song was then sung first by myself, then by the Chiefs & principal warriors of the different nations— The Sun was just setting when I took my leave, and proceeded to pied froid, where the boats were ready for transporting, on the other side of the river St. Joseph—

29th. The Gun boat was got on the Carriage with great difficulty— Lorimier from the Shawanoe Towns—<sup>184</sup> directed him to proceed to Detroit and take his orders from Captain Lernoult— Left Major Hay and Captain Maisonville to forward the boats over the portage, and walked to the further end of the carrying place 3 leagues, where Captain McLeod had a guard on the Provisions &ca Orderd Off Lieutenants DuVernet and Schiefelin with the six lbr. and fixed ammunitiion to go down the Creek in Pirogues—

This creek is one of the sources of the Ouabache and takes its rise in a level plain which is the heighth of land near the Miamis Town— the creek is called *petite riviere*<sup>185</sup> Where the pirogues were first launched it is only wide enough for one boat and is much embarassd with logs and Stumps— about 4 miles below is a Beaver dam, and to those animals the traders are indebted for the conveniency of bringing their peltry by water from the Indian posts on the waters of the Ouabache— The Indians are sensible of the advantages they draw from the labors of the Beaver at this place, and will not suffer them to be killed in this neighbourhood— On my return met Lt. DuVernet with 7 pirogues loaded, orderd him to proceed and join Lt. St. Cosme who was below the Dam with some men employed to clear the *chemin couvert*,<sup>186</sup> a narrow part of the Creek, so narrow and embarrassd with logs under water, and boughs over head that it required a great deal of work to make it passable for our small craft— In Summer the trees overarch the Creek, and as the snakes get into the branches it is very disagreeable to pass, as they frequently fall into the canoes—

30th. sent Lt. De Quindre with 7 pirogues loaded with provision, & 14 men to follow Lt. DuVernet— In the evening



went to the Dam which had been cut thro' to give a passage for the pirogues, and by sinking a batteau in the gap and stopping the water with sods and paddles raised the water— lay in the wood this night— Wolves very numerous hereabout—

31st. returnd to the Camp at the portage— the water had risen 7 inches since last evening—

November 1st. left the landing with 7 batteaus and 3 pirogues loaded with provision &ca and proceeded to the dam which we open'd, and yet found the water so scanty, that it was with the greatest difficulty we passed the chemin couvert, the windings are so short that our boats 32 feet long, reached sometimes from point to point, we were yet worse off when we got to the end of this narrow pass, coming to a swamp called les Volets, from the water lilly which almost covers the surface of this fen— The batteaus frequently rested on the mud and we labor'd hard to get thro', being up to the knees in mud and entangled among the roots and rotten stumps of trees— we at length got to the channel form'd by the meeting of the petit riviere, and the riviere à boete— here we encamp'd having got but 10 miles with great fatigue—<sup>187</sup>

2d. Early in the morning sent off the Savages by land, and a small party down the river to clear away the logs &ca— The rest of the men were employed in damming the water of the two little rivers to provide for our passage downwards— Lt. DuVernet who had got some miles lower had wrote me word, that he could not proceed for the shallowness of the water— we had had scarcely any rain since leaving the Rocher de bout, and the frost having now set in we had reason to apprehend such a drought as would stop our progress— The advantage attending so much fair weather was the carrying place being in tolerable condition, our provision and ammunition being dry, and our men remarkably healthy—

3d. Continued to work at the Dam— sent a light canoe to the landing for workmen and Tools, which returnd at ½ past 12 at night— As I thought we might have occasion to return the same way, and the water might fail, I had resolv'd to make a sluice at this dam—

4th. The Water was raised 3 feet— At eight o'Clock at night Major Hay arrived with the remainder of the boats with

provision &ca. Captain McKee joined us at the same time with two Shawanese Chiefs, the white fish<sup>188</sup> ( ) and *Wa we ya pi yass in wa* with a young warrior of the same nation *Ja ni thaa*—

5th. Mr. Nicholas Lowain being left at the Miamis Town as commissary I wrote to him to permit the traders to come to Ouiattanon with merchandize, as soon as he should hear of my arrival there— Monsieur de Celoron excepted—

6th. Major Hay proceeded down the river the water being let off, and made another dam a mile below riviere a l'Anglais—<sup>189</sup>

7th. We broke up this dam with the first dawn of day, and proceeded to the pays plat, where the bed of the river being very broad, with almost continued ledges of rock and large stones, we found it very laborious and tedious to pass with our craft— The men were in the water from ten o'Clock in the morning till after Sunset, at which time only one batteau had got to the foot of the Rifts— in this day's progress the most of our boats were greatly damaged— The men were obliged to encamp as they could, opposite to their boats,— all shewed the greatest cheerfulness and alacrity, the officers having shared in the fatigue of the day— some of the weightyest boats required 22 men to lift and draw them at the same time— The lowest of the batteaus lay this night at the *petit rocher*<sup>190</sup> a skreen of rock on the W. side of the river—

8th. Continued to work in the water to forward the boats— sent to Lt. DuVernet for 7 light pirogues and 22 men to assist in lightning the boats— Lt. DuVernet is encamped at the fork of Ouabache<sup>191</sup> Pacane a Miami chief joined with 11 Warriors— Thunder and rain from 2 o'Clock in the Morning till near night— Wabaugay (The morning star) a young Chippowey chief, having set off to reconnoitre towards Ouiattanon I sent Mr: Chéne the interpreter to recall him, at night a messenger from Lt. DuVernet informed me the Indians had returnd— A quantity of our Flour damaged by the leaking of the boats and the violent rain—

9th. set off from *petit rocher*— The men 5 hours in the water haling the boats over the shoals and rocks for a league and half— arrived at the forks of Ouabache at 3 o'clock p.m. and in half an hour joined Lt. DuVernet at his encampment. set about

calking and repairing the batteaus, which were much crazed by the days journey—

10th. continued the repair of the boats, and airing the bales which had got wet— The provision having been landed at *petit rocher* to lighten the batteaus, sent up 50 men with eight pirogues to fetch it down. The River begins to rise from the great fall of rain— had a conference last night with the chiefs, and shewed them the bad consequence of sending off a *decouverte*<sup>192</sup> at so great a distance from an enemy— They allowed it and this day set their young men the example of working along with the Soldiers, bringing down the provision from *petit rocher*, some of them carrying 200 lb of flour on their shoulders—

11th. It began to snow— sent off 3 pirogues to *petit rocher* to bring away the remainder of the provisions— Orderd Charles Baubin (Interpreter for the Miamis) to acquaint them that their encamping 5 leagues distant, was neither agreeable to me or the other nations, and to desire their chiefs not to suffer any of their young men to go ahead without orders—

12th. Exercised the Cannon and small arms at Marks— The arms in very good order— The Savages expressed great surprize to see a mark of a foot square struck from the 6lbr. at about 300 yards distance— A conference with the chiefs this night on the subject of our march— Our craft 40 in number repaired— Orderd a pickett to mount in future of 1 Sub. 1 Serjt. 18 R. & F. Last night C. McKee arrived from the Miamis with an account of the Shawanese having attacked and defeated a party of Rebels who had carried off some of their horses, and recover'd their cattle.

13th. was spent in repairing batteaus, sending down provision by land to *Salamani* River,<sup>193</sup> to lighten the boats, & embarking provisions and stores in those which were repaired—

14th. Could not get off before 11 a.m. It had snowed hard last night This morning it blows hard with smart frost.— The water so low and the bed of the river so rocky we had great difficulty to get the boats forward— 14000 weight had been forwarded by land, yet in this severe weather when the water froze on their poles at every dip, the men were obliged to get into the water to assist in pushing the boats along, sometimes 20 to a

boat— my own boat, one pirogue and the Carpenters canoe were the only voitures that got down to *l'Erable penchée* (the sloping maple) at dark, half frozen—

15th. An hour before day unloaded my batteau and sent the men off with her, to assist in bringing down the rest and to point out the channel— The Carpenters were busy in clearing the ground for encamping, and the guard that came by land with the provision, making fires against their arrival— Last night the Miamis Indians encamped 500 yards below us, and having arranged themselves according to ancient custom, one of their Chiefs called by the French (*le petit gris*, *dappled fawn*) in the Miamis tongue Waspikingua or Necaquangai harranged them as follows—

Young men! We are now going to war, should any dispute arise among you, or hasty words pass, recollect that your busyness is War and let it pass unnoticed— War is sometimes necessary and the consequence to many must be death— let us bear in mind that some of us must fall, and the rest return in mourning, but that thought must not deterr us from doing our duty— We must die, when it is the will of the supreme being the master of life— We are here mixed with the English, the French and several different tribes of the brown skins, let us not take offence at any thing which may be said, since we are unacquainted as well with their language as their customs— however let no man even in joke use a threatening gesture with his knife, or his War axe— These people (the Christians) have not the same religion with us, We believe in the Deities of the woods and rivers, as well as in the supreme lord, they believe only in one sovereign being presiding over all— Our method of making war is by surprize, Our father the Englishman has another method, however let us act our part as men, we must expect shot to fall as thick as drops of rain, but we are no more than men, born to die— I exhort you all to diligence and activity, let every one bear his share in all fatigues— God above looks down upon us, and will punish the lazy, he that is slow in making his fire shall suffer cold, he that is tardy in hunting must expect to suffer hunger— The various nations have different customs, I will not implore all their Deities, but pray for the protection of those of our own Nation and ask of them victory for my followers,



and that we may be allowed to revisit our Villages, our Wives and our Children—

16th. At half past 11 a.m. left l'Erable penchée having taken in all our provision, and repaired our boats as well as possible—

This morning the Indians having represented that it was contrary to their customs to have the Nattes (Budgetts which contain their Household Gods, relics, and such things as they use in their divinations Medicines &ca) in their rear when going to War, I found their superstition too strong to be combatted, and accordingly ordered the Interpreters to tell them, they should on all occasions fix their camp in their own manner, that is, advanced toward the Enemy's country—

It is well known that these people seldom if ever, post sentinels or keep watch at night, tho ever so essential to their security—

Their camp is formed in this manner— Large fires are kindled before which they lie in rows, on each side, with their feet towards the fire— At their heads are placed their arms leaning against a rock— In this position they go to sleep, and if any noise is made or alarm given, the first who hears it touches his neighbour, and the whole are presently roused, tho in silence, and take to their arms without bustle or confusion— Should any one have a dream which bodes something favorable, or the contrary he relates it in the morning to his comrades, and their reliance on omens is such, as frequently to defeat an enterprize— Sometimes a man who is disposed to return from war, makes known a dream which calls for him to quit his comrades, no one pretends to dissuade him, he takes his pack, and sets off perhaps accompanied by some of his comrades, the Chief not pretending to interpose— The following well known story shows their attention to, and religious observance of Dreams—

A Mohawk Chief having observed at Sir William Johnson's a very handsome fowling piece over the Chimney, took occasion to tell S. W. that he had dreamed that he had made it a present to him, Sir W. well acquainted with their customs, told the chief that since he had had such a Dream, the fowling piece was at his Service— some time after Sir William told the Chief he had

dreamed that the Indian had made him a present of a certain tract of land, The Indian at the same time that he promised Sir William that he should be put in possession told him that he himself should take care how he dreamed again—

The Indians from their infancy learn to imitate the cries and call of Beasts and birds, and acquire such perfection as to deceive not only one another, but the animals which they by this means frequently make their prey, of this I have known instances— This power of imitation is often used with success in War, which they chiefly carry on by surprises— On some occasions (as I have been told) a Chief directs his Warriors to use such or such calls, and these are repeated at intervals so that in extending their front to surprize an enemy, none may stray too wide— They frequently crawl a considerable distance, laying down branches and twigs which are in their way, with the greatest care and patience— sometimes they smear their bodies with clay or earth or different colours, approaching to that of the trees, leaves or grass that they are to pass thro' that they may lie undiscovered— Hunger and thirst they support with admirable constancy, and continue in constrained postures and the most irksome situations, by which means they frequently effect their purpose— I have no doubt of their being able to fast three days and even longer, tho their precautions are such, and their knowledge of roots and other vegetable eatables such, that they are rarely put to great straights for hunger— even in Swamps they find eatable and even wholesome food, they cannot however prevail on themselves to eat snakes or frogs, tho both be very nourishing and platable— The Indians support the fatigues of rapid marches and will go a round trot of between four and five miles an hour for a long summers day without halting for refreshmt which gives them a vast advantage over the whites, even the best Woodmen.

A Provision which they seldom are in want of is made of the fat flank of Deer, dried and lightly smoaked, this pounded small with a certain proportion of Indian-corn-meal and maple sugar— They commonly mix some of this with water, a small quantity is sufficient thus hunger and thirst are satisfied together with very little delay—

In the neighbourhood of the Sea, the Clam fish is dried in the

shade and strung on a packthread which they wear over the shoulder as a belt, and this being very nutritious food, I am told three will support one of them for a day— Passed the pain de sucre, or sugar loaf,<sup>194</sup> a rock on the river side about 100 feet high, the only high land in view— Tis on the Eastern shore— We encamped about a league below on the opposite shore—

17th. Rain all day, however we made seven leagues, and encamped on the S.E. side of the River—

18th. Had hard work to pass several rapids— The men were obliged to work in the water tho it was extremely cold— passed the Mississinouï a pretty large river on the N. E. side—<sup>195</sup> encamped at (les arbres matachés) the painted trees— so called from a number of Trees marked with Indian figures in Vermillion— This place is about a league below the little riviere au Calumet.<sup>196</sup> Having halted about noon to make a fire, a messenger from the Miamis of Riviere à l'anguille<sup>197</sup> informed us, that the people of his Village, waited impatiently for us, & were rejoiced to hear of our coming. We heard also, that the Ouatatanon indians were assembled on the hither side of Ouat,<sup>198</sup> in expectation of our arrival—

19th. Being a fair day, we employed in repairing some of our batteaus— Met the Savages of Eel river (riviere à l'anguille) and the Pouteouattamies of the river *Thipicono*<sup>199</sup> (This is the name of a fish something resembling the white Bass, but larger)— These last made a present to the Ottawas of several shrouds and blanketts to cover the bones of an Ottawa, sometime ago killed by them—

The speaker to whom a year before I had given a pipe Tomahawk coverd with silver wire, said that he was a man who loved his wife and children, and who did not intermeddle for good or bad, that he was well pleased to see us on our march against the rebels, but that he had no decisive part to take—

I rose with intention to speak harshly to him, and remind him of the promises he had made when at Detroit, but I contented myself with returning thanks to those Nations who had left their wives and children to follow me to war— That I did not come thro their country with a design of inveigling men to war, that the rivers and paths were the Kings highways, thro which I meant to

pass to find out the Rebels— shewed them the roadbelt, and told them that I had compassion on their women and children, which was the reason I had come from so great a distance to drive invaders off their lands, that on my arrival at Ouatatanon, I should cancel the Piankashaa contract<sup>200</sup> That those men who joined me, should receive arms ammunition &c—

The Speaker said he was disposed to sit quiet, and wait to see his old Father (meaning that he expected to see the French again in possession of the country)—

I broke off the meeting abruptly, and told them I was going to exercise my young men, and gave orders for the men to turn out and fire ball at a mark, which they did, and shewed great dexterity firing very quick and making excellent shots— The six pounder was exercised also—

In the Evening Mr: Chésne the interpreter told me, that several of the Miamis and Pouteouattamies of this district meant to accompany us, And that the speaker himself said, he had only spoken for himself That men were made to go to war, and that the young men would not be prevented by what he had said in the Morning—

*Kinebec a maingong* is the name of the Village of the Miamis at this place which means Snake River, the Indians calling an Eal Kinébec as they do a snake likewise—<sup>201</sup>

20th. It snowed almost all day and blew hard— Had a conference with the Pouteouattamies of this settlement, who having been reproved by the Ottawa chiefs for inconsistency, appeared something better disposed— they had said the day before that they were disposed to act as the other nations, but the Ottawas remarkd they did not act agreeably to their professions—

In the afternoon I went to the Village of the Miamis and had a long discourse with them on the subject of our design— They said their small numbers did not admit of sending off many Warriors but they would shew their good disposition, and immediately the chiefs named for War, ten of those present— The Old Wolf was appointed their chief, He was one who had insulted the Rebels at St. Vincennes— An old man of 70 called the lead mine walked to the camp which was 4 miles and ½ distant within 20 minutes as soon as we had gone it tho' we ran two thirds of the way—



21st. We had a sharp Frost with high wind, and the difficulty great in getting our boats along—

A point of land advances into the River which terminates by a Bluff of rock— This had formerly been called by Travellers *Le Navire the Ship*, but the last year a considerable part of it having fallen into the river (as I suppose by an earthquake, tho the Indians say 'twas by a stroke of lightning) It has lost its likeness— Chrystals, petrifications of different soils, the *coruna ammonis* particularly, are found in abundance, the rocks having been lately rent in their fall discover many of them— I had not time to gratify my curiosity fully at this place, but in walking thro' the wood about 300 yards from the shore, and almost abreast of the Ship— We discovered a Rock in the form nearly of a Vessels hull which tho rudely formd attracted our notice— on examining, we found it to contain petrified shells &ca. and to be much of the nature of the Rock formerly called the Ship—<sup>202</sup>

The Savages and the foremost boats got down below the great rapid<sup>203</sup> a league from the mouth of Eel river (*riviere à l'anguille*), the rest stoppd at different distances according to the difficulties them [*sic*] had to encounter— It was three in the afternoon before the headmost boats put in, and at night several remaind on the rocks in the river, it being difficult from the number of different channels to make choice of the right ones— This was a dreary sight as the water was dayly growing colder and the cakes of floating ice frequently cut the mens legs as they luggd at the boats in the water—

22d Before the sun was up I went to the encampment opposite the headmost boats It had frozen hard in the night, and before the men could get at their boats they were obliged to break the ice with poles and then drag in the water up to their knees— Light Pirogues were sent from below to take out part of the loading of the boats which were aground— The uppermost boats discharged part of their loading which was carried by the men on shore to the foot of the rapid, at 3 in the afternoon the greater number of the boats were got down, and the work was continued till near dark— Light boats had some of them made four trips to the head of the rapid— In the evening large fires were made and rum was given to the men who had sufferd great fatigue and

hardship, the ice had greatly damaged some of our boats, a Pirogue in particular was cut thro for the length of 3 feet by which some casks of peas were damaged—

The several Tribes of Indians at night danced the war dance, and sung war songs for near six hours without intermission—

The men being squanderd on the river in different little camps we could not mount pickett guard—

23d. This day we had snow, yet we employed the time in bringing down the Provisions &ca from above and repairing the damage done to our boats by coming down the rapid— A Court martial on one of the Grenadiers of the 8th. (for breeding a disturbance) and one of La Mothe's Volunteers, Giles & Frichette

The Indian chiefs were assembled, when I communicated my design of sending Major Hay to Ouiattonon with the Interpreters Chésne and Reaume, to compliment the nation and acquaint them with our arrival in the Country— this they approved—

Memm: to have Powder, Rum &ca. seized on the King's account.

This night the Indians sung to their Nattes as the French call them— These are Budgets which contain little figures of different kinds, some as Amulets, some as household Gods, these when they go to war they paint with vermillion— Their Priests who are usually their doctors are provided with an apparatus very different from our quacks, this is usually carryed in the budget and consists of the heads, bones or skins of certain animals, preserved Birds in the feather, Snakes skins, Bows and arrows contrived with springs to bundle up with the other valuable effects, Wolves teeth Panthers claws, Eagles talons &ca— The Juglers have these at hand for whenever, by drenches steam baths or emetics they have procured any relief from [for] one of their patients, they feign to have drawn a Bears tooth or Birds claw out of the part affected which when they produce to the sick man his imagination seldom fails to take part with the Doctors skill and perfect the cure—

There are Juglers among them who pretend to swallow arrows, eat fire and take down live birds— The Indians have I am told a certain root which they chew while they perform their fiery tryals, and that they can endure a great degree of heat while

the virtue of these roots operates— When I shall have seen it performed I may judge.

When the camp fires are lighted and when the Warriors have finished their Meal, the Priests goes in the front of the encampment and begins his incantation The Budget being a few paces before him— at the full extent of his Voice he roars out his prayer or adjuration, which is in a tone between melancholic and terrific— The various tunes in various languages bellowed aloud by these Heralds of the night, the thickness of the Woods and darkness of the Weather with the blaze of a great many large fires extending along the Savage camp for a considerable length, the intervals of silence from time to time broken by these horrible Songs, sometimes by a Chorus of Wolves in full cry after the Deer, formed a very strange but striking medley— Every nation has his Magus chainting in the front of the Camp at one time, vying with each other in strength of lungs, at these times they pretend that their devotion procures them the sight of their Genius, and as their fasts are sometimes very severe, I should not be surprized if an empty stomach produced a light head and made visionaries of them—

24th. Being a fine day we finished the repairing our boats—

*Pacane* (The nut) a Miamis chief came to my hut to speak on the Subject of a Belt sent by the Chickasaas to the Shawanese and other Nations—

A little after 12 at noon left our camp the water very cold and greatly lowerd by the Frost— past Riviere à l'anguille which was at this time very low, tho subject at time to violent floods— It is about 150 yards wide at the mouth and some of us waded it quite across—

The Indians on this river told me there is a prodigious plenty of Eels in this river which is the more probable as the Indians call them by the same name with a snake (Kinebec) and never eat of them— howev [however] as I told them and some of their ladies, that a Village situated as theirs, ought to be more populous then it was, and that Eel soupe was nearly equal to Viper broth, they may possibly diminish the number of Eels to add to their own—

Before Sunset we found the Ouabache frozen quite across

we determined however to pass at this bar if possible before it should be fortified by the addition of floating ice, with some labor & by going out of our boats we effected a passage, and encamped a small distance below a little after Sunset, having been 5 hours without making a halt— The men very chearfull and not one sick— encamped about a mile above the petit rocher—<sup>204</sup>

25th. This morning we found the rapids very shallow from the frost The river about 200 yards across at the petit rocher, a ledge of Rocks about 20 feet high, which having tumbled piecemeal at different times has choaked the channel and left but a very narrow pass for boats— The pilots must be very dextrous to pass the channels, a great descent rendring the water very swift, and sunken rocks lying scatterd, render the passing very difficult.

Notwithstanding every attention and the efforts of the men several boats were stoppd here, those acquainted with the rapids stood in the water and pointed out the way— fortunately tho it froze hard there was but little wind— about 3 o'clock p.m. we got to the pierced island— (Isle percée)—<sup>205</sup> a narrow passage for boats is formd at this place either by the violence of the current in great floods or by an earthquake, I rather imagine the former— Its appearance has nothing romantic or striking, but the water passes with the rapidity of a Millstream— This morning the heaviest boats had been draggd with great labor, but here all the boats were to be hauled over the shallows and these were in extent half a mile at least below the pierced Island—

These inevitable retardements gave me some uneasy moments as the advance of the season threatned us with a frost severe enough to put an effectual stop to our progress— The drought had been unusual and the frost had dryed up many of the small streams— At our encampment some principal men of the Ouiattonons (des considérés) made their appearance— The names of the men of this nation are surely the most whimsical of any in the World La Morve (snot) la mauvaise panse (rot gut) le grand Pin (Toledo) la mauvaise bouche (bad or rotten mouth) la gaine (The sheath)—

The French traders give them the character of being thievish, cruel, and cowardly— As I did not understand the Peankashaa



(or Ouiattonon) language, I could not tell what Character these Savages gave the Traders—

However the most reverend of these gentry told me he was himself too old to go to war, besides that he was in mourning, but he would send his Son and some young men, That he was not a Chief, yet had some men at his disposal— Importance and Vanity are of all climates, while I am writing, this man of consequence is no talker, and my Ink freezes in my pen tho I am near enough to a fire to scorch my shins— I found myself much in his predicament as to importance so was very attentive to their great men—

At our last encampment I had remarkd fossils on the top of the hill and here the soil very fertile, producing, Maple, nutwood, & other forest trees, Oaks of a great size, Beach &ca. The long grass which the men laid in the boats was not speary, but like oatstraw—

26th. Had the boats loaded before sunrise— saluted our Ouiattonon friends, who from an excess of politeness had nearly fired in my face yesterday—

The frost being very severe, the wind high, and the water very shallow, we had great difficulty to get along— The roughness of the water prevented our finding the channel— The Men sufferd much, many of them having their legs cut by the floating ice, being obliged to work in the water to save the boats which were also much injured— After getting  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile we were obliged to land, make fires, and recruit the men with a dram each

About 3 p m. we found the river completely barrd with ice, and that of a considerable thickness— With the help of poles, and by swaying in the batteaus, (Tho that we knew must open their seams) we broke our Way for about 100 Yards and proceeded about two miles, here again we had another barrier of strong ice to break thro', in order to get into the Channel on the south side of the Garlic Islands—<sup>206</sup> Half a mile below them we got into deep water, and encampd on the South shore— The Indians who had attempted to pass the ice in the Evening, had workd till they were tired in vain— They encampd about a mile and half above us on the North Shore—

The Woods where Beech are the chief timber are good for encamping being free from undergrowth— perhaps the soil is

peculiarly adapted to that tree, or its thick shade discourages the brush from rising— but in many places on the banks of the Ouabache, the Grape vines, raspberries, prickly ash, brambles and thornvines are so thick that ones Flesh as well as their cloaths must be torn to pieces in passing but a short way—

In the night a blast at S. W. cleared away the ice and softend the air—

27 Set off early and had but little difficulty—halted a little above the coal mine,<sup>207</sup> to rest and warm the men— Some Ouatatanons met us here and would have detained us, but they were desired to follow to our camp, which was to be a little above the mouth of the Thipicono, a River whose source is near that of Ouabache and whose course is nearly parallell with it—

About a mile before we arrived at our camp, we had to force our way thro' thick floating ice, which choakd the river, soon after our Arrival the Indians just mentioned arrived—

They said I must not be surprized that they had not undertaken to drive out the rebels, as their women and children were too much in their power, but that our arrival encouraged them to act, and I might be assured they would do what I should require of them— These men informed me the rebels were gone from St. Vincennes to Kaskaskias—

The coal mine lies on each side of the river the N. side of which is hilly the S. level— The abundance of fine timber will for centuries render the opening this mine unnecessary— But so great are the disadvantages attending the settling on the banks of this river, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, as will probably deter any but Indian Traders from it and they must be the poorer sort. Its vast distance from the sea, the scarcity of water for a part of the Year, and the violent floods in the Spring and fall, the turbulence of the Savages inhabiting these parts who are more fickle, ignorant, and jealous than their neighbours.

The characters of most of the Europeans who have dealings with them are not likely to improve the morals, or remove the jealousies of the Indians, as in all remote posts are to be found the most faithless and abandond among the Traders— Men of that stamp will naturally attempt to push their fortune where they are least known—

These Indians as well as the Illinois, and Missouri Tribes, have been kept almost altogether in the dark with respect to the power of the British Nation, few but contemptible Renegadoes from the English having been seen among them, & the French Traders from interest as well as a mortified pride, decrying as much as possible every thing that was not French— every thing of European fabric is by them called french, they carry this yet farther by calling some kinds of Wild Ducks French ducks—

Ordered the mens arms to be set against horses in the Streets and a walking Sentry at night in each Street of the camp, to give notice of rain, and to take the alarm from the out Pickets—

28th. Stoppd at the cabin of the *white head* a chief of the Ouittanon Indians, who expressed great pleasure at seeing me, told me he had always encouraged those of his nation to wait my arrival, that the Chiefs who were out at their hunting ground were not very distant and could readily be summoned, that he should go down to our camp to hear what might pass in the assembly— This Chief told me that the sale of Lands made by the *Old Tobacco* (a Peankashaa) had much displeased all the Indians— That the situation of their families had deterred the Savages from taking an active part against the rebels, but that our coming would be a great encouragement to them—

The few Indians at this wintering ground had killed an amazing quantity of game— I was regaled by the princess if not in the neatest, at least in the most hospitable manner, Some Raccoon's flesh smoaked, and teized<sup>208</sup> so as to look like shreds of Oakum, was taken out of a skin and served in a platter— The lady then took some raccoons grease out of a bag with a wooden Miquain or spoon, and with a hand of much the same color with the spoon, scooped out what stuck in it— These good folk were much chagrined that I could not stay till their soupe, of Venison Beans, and Maize was ready, but as we set off, they threw a dozen Head Raccoons into the boat— These peoples Cabins, and manner of living is too nearly like that of other Indians to merit any particular description—

we encamped a small mile above the Village of Ouittanon not very comfortably, as wood was scarce, and it had rained from 12 at noon 'till pretty far in the night.—

*Ouiatenon to Vincennes,  
Hamilton Takes Vincennes,  
November 29 to December 17, 1778.*

29th. This Morning Major Hay who had been at the Village to gain what intelligence he could of the proceedings of the rebels, returned— I find that they have had every countenance and encouragement from the French traders— Le Gras has a commission as Major signed by their commander, Bosseron a Captain's, Baron an Adjutant's, Monbrun, and Perault Officers—

I am told there is no Fort at the falls of Ohio, but am still in the belief there is, as the Shawanoe Chief so lately described to me, the situation of the Island and the falls—

Some reports make the rebels 60 at Kaskasquias, 40 at Cahokia others 280 in all— French reports variable as the authors—

An officer of the name of Helm commands at St. Vincennes— Colonel George Rogers Clarke at the Illinois— Jean Baptiste Chapoton a trader from Detroit had come last night to my tent and was very coolly receiv'd, yet this morning he made his appearance with his usual affronterie, I desired to see his pass dated 17th, Feby. and askd him how he presumed to go to the Illinois contrary to the Oath and obligation of his passport— he answer'd that he and Mr: Rapicault [Raimbault?] having been in partnership, the state of that person's affairs had engaged him to go— I asked him, how he could excuse his not informing me of the arrival of the rebels in the Country, since he was on the spot- He said Mr: Le Gras had written, that his own writing was not legible, He thought he was at liberty to go on any part of his Majesty's possessions, all futile, impudent evasions, & received with the contempt they deserved—

The six pounder was fired frequently to draw in the Indians from their hunting—

30th. The Men were exercised in firing at a Mark— Went to the Fort which is formd of a double range of houses enclosed with a Stockade 10 feet high, and very poorly defensive against small arms.<sup>209</sup> The Indian Cabins of this settlement are about 90,



the families may be estimated at 10 to a cabin— The French inhabitants being summoned to meet me in the Chapel I lectured Messrs: Chapoton and Raimbault— They were well provided with evasive answers for every question I put to them—

The *Outarde* a Ouiattanon orator who had been in the Summer at Detroit, came from his wintering and saluted me at the fort, shortly after the Ottawas came in to dance— In the afternoon *Kissingua* (a mixed Ottawa & Miamis) arrived with 10 Ouiattanons for war, said he had been looking out for us till his eyes were sore, but that when he heard the report of a cannon in the wood, he was certain his father was arrived, & he had hastend to give him his hand—<sup>210</sup> fixed 10 o'Clock next morning for a meeting of the Indians in Council.— The Indians in high spirits, tho no liquor had been issued—

December 1st. Employed part of the day in drying damaged provisions &ca Held a talk with all the chiefs in the Morning, shewed the road-belt to the Ouiattanons, informd them of the sentiments of the 6 nations and the conformity of the lake Indians—

Spoke to them on the subject of the sale of lands privately made by the Old Tobacco, and some of the Peankashaas, as a thing transacted without the consent of parties concern'd, as an irregular proceeding unauthorized by the Crown whose sanction was necessary in public acts of such a nature that the compensation was by no means equivalent to what was stipulated by the Kings regulations, which being the case I told them they could not be bound, I therefore in presence of them all burnt the copy of the Contract and cession of lands, telling them that when I should see The Old Tobacco and his son, I should make them understand how imprudently they had acted with regard to their Brethren the River Indians—

N.B. A Copy of this contract sent to Sir G. C. as well as to Ld. G G.

Methusaagai (a Chippowey Chief) gave them a belt from the 6 nations by which they were exhorted to join the other Indians in acting against the Rebels, and to give credit to what they should hear from the English, who befriended and supported them—

Methusaagai delivered also a belt from the Women living upon the lakes, addressed to the Wives of the River Indians, ex-

horting them to work hard with their hoes, to raise corn for the Warriors who should take up the Axe for their Father the King of England—

The Ouiattonons declared themselves well pleased to have the information the Chippowey chief had communicated, and that they were disposed to follow the good example of their brethren— That Quiquapouhquáa (crooked legs) an old Chief who had received an English Medal from me at Detroit, had accepted a flag from the Rebels, and that they were uneasy till he brought it in to me—<sup>211</sup> In the Evening the War Chief (Petite face) with 22 Warriors were accommodated with blankets &c—<sup>212</sup>

As it was necessary to sharpen the War axe of their Gentry, a feast of two hogs with a due proportion of what they call Milk (Rum) was prepared, they acknowledged they had received an axe at Detroit which had lain by till this time, but since they saw the Indians from That Quarter determined to act, they would not be behind them—

*Godefroi Pittette* and Raimbault French Inhabitants offered their services, this last promising to act so as to retrieve his Character—

2d. Major Hay went to the Fort, swore the Inhabitants, and hoisted the St. George's Ensign, which the Indians were informd was to be understood as a guarantee of protection and security of their lands— A party of a Serjeant and six rank and file from each of the Detachments presented their Arms on the Flag being hoisted and three rounds from the six pounder were fired—

One Magnian a Trader of this post, who had gone voluntarily on this errand to some of the Chiefs in the neighbourhood, returned with an account that two of the Quiquaboe chiefs were on their way, that they had hesitated but he had persuaded them to come.

A Feast about 2 p m. at the Ottawa encampment— After the usual Oraison, Egushewai sung the war song having two war belts and three Death hammers together in his hand— —The men were exercised in firing at marks— A chief of the Ouiattanon Indians named La Natte (the budget) properly means a Mat) left an Heiress who agreeable to their customs, represented the Family and wore a French medal, as she is married to a Chief who had some influence and who wore an English Medal I wished to

exchange her Medal for a large English one which I put about her neck having taken off her own, at the same time giving her some silver brooches and bracelets, but in a few minutes she appeared dissatisfied, and all my arguments could not prevail with her to be divorced from her old Medal—<sup>213</sup> However on my insisting that she should keep the bracelets she resumed her good humor—*Mahinomba* an Old Quiquaboe chief came in after Sunset from his hunting ground 25 leagues distant, He had been at Detroit in the Summer with 5 other old men— I told him that tho' contrary to custom to speak on busyness after Sunset, I would break thro' that custom and even put off my journey for a day, that he might have an opportunity of conversing with the Chiefs of the other nations—

3d. Met all the Chiefs, held much the same discourse as with the Ouatatanon Indians— They said on the arrival of the Virginians their War Chiefs had consulted Monsieur de Celoron on the occasion, asking him how they should act, That they were told they must hide the War belts they had received at Detroit— They acknowledged they were afraid to take up the hatchet as their families were exposed too much to the inroads of the Virginians—

The War Song was sung by a number of different chiefs, And when I gave the War belt to the young Quiquaboe chief, I presented him with a handsome couteau de chasse—<sup>214</sup>

Those who spoke, delivrd themselves as I could have wished and appeared highly pleased at the sight of their friends, as well as with their speeches, and promised to follow their example—

They gave a belt to the Chippoways to cover the bones of all their deceased forefathers on both sides and a pipe or Calumet to conciliate their good will—

This is a usual ceremony, that any disagreeable impression of former disputes or rupture may be effaced—

I had opened the assembly by smoaking out of the Calumets presented me by the Shawanoes and Quiquaboes at Detroit with which they seemed well pleased, saying they observed I did not forget my Children and that all the Tribes on the Ouabache would act to my wish— Some complained of age and infirmities which would not allow them to follow me— One after the rest had spoke, said Father! I have waited to the last, I have heard others

speaking for my part nothing ails me, my legs are stout and well able to carry me as far as you will chuse to go—

The Quiquaboe Chief who was the principal speaker in the Council said that on the approach of the Rebels to Ouiattanon they were taught to think them so numerous that opposition would be in vain, for which reason they had hid the Axe I had given them at Detroit, (meaning the War belt) but that when they actually arrived, and their number proved so inconsiderable, (there were but 70 or 80) One of the Chiefs shewed them the Belt, and told them that was prepared to strike them—

The same chief told me, the greater part of their people were at this time dispersed at their hunting grounds, but that in the Spring they would appear like Musketoes and infest the Ohio, and all the Rebel Frontier— 96 Cabins at this Village, computed at 10 souls per Cabin— Total 960— reckon a third part Warriors 320— but more likely 2 Warriors to a cabin 192 Warriors in all—<sup>215</sup> (Dawson, Wiggins, Thompson, Cottrel, DuBois, Traders, and Serjeant Mr. Evers of La Mothe's arrived from Detroit. Ordered Cloathing powder and the usual equipment for the old Men women and children of the Quiquaboes, and Arms &c for those Warriors who were to accompany us— About 11 at night we had an Eclipse of the Moon, the Savages as is usual with them fired small arms almost the whole time it continued— The Tuette a Chief Son in law of La Natte being asked about the Eclipse said he had thought at first the camp was attackd but happning to look up saw the occasion of it and fired as the rest—

4th. Prepared to take in as many of the Savages as our batteaus could hold conveniently— A Ouiattanon Chief called le Forgeron (the Blacksmith) asked for a War belt, which having received he said, Why should not I go to War, I am old, I am too lame to be able to run away, War is my vocation, I had rather after my death have the flesh torn off the bones by wild beasts, than that it should lye to rot idly in the ground, meaning he preferred Death in the field of battle, to dying a natural death at home.<sup>216</sup>

Being told that old Quiquapouhquaa was coming I deferred my Journey, and about Dusk he arrived when I went to speak to him and his people— I told them that on the first news of the arrival of the Rebels in that Country, I had proposed coming to



dispossess them, that the Indians bordering on the Lakes had offerd to accompany me to assist their brethren of the Ouabache, that the Tribes of Indians which lay on my road had also joined me— That I had reason to be surprized that he who had been at Detroit, should so soon have forgot what I said to him there, since he and his people had been received as my children—

That it had been told me he had acted very unwisely in listening to the Rebels, and tho' it was late, I meant to enlighten them and to undeceive them as to the notions they had been possesd with, by ignorant or designing persons— That I would hear his excuse before I would condemn his conduct— That the Great King my master, was always ready to pardon those who seeing their error returnd to their Duty— That tho my situation was very humble, I endeavord to follow his example—

He answerd that on the arrival of the Virginians he was taught to believe they were very numerous, that he was alarm'd his people not being many in number, that he had acted inconsiderately in taking those people by the hand, but that he saw and was sorry for his error, that he respected his Father, and would submit to whatever he should decree— That as a proof of his sincerity he had brought the Rebel Flag, which he deliverd up—

I set my foot on it, told him I was pleased to hear him acknowledge his fault, that on his arrival he had offerd me his hand, that I now would give him mine, being rejoiced at this showing a disposition which would entitle him to protection as well as the rest of the Indian nations who acknowledged but one Father— That they might all be assured that while they continued to act as was required of them the King would supply their wants and secure their possessions— that in testimony of this I would leave a Flag at the Fort, which was shortly after hoisted with the striped Rebel Flag beneath— smoaked in the Quiquaboe Calumet— congratulated them on our not being likely to meet any Indians in Arms, all being united in one cause— mentioned the Peankashaá deed— orderd provision for the Chiefs party—

5th. He returned early with two War Chiefs and ten Warriors, presented me a pipe, saying that as last night I desired they might not conceal any thing, they acknowledged having

smoaked in a Virginian pipe, but had been induced to it by Evil Councillors—

However since they had smoaked with me, they had forgot the flavor of the Virginian Tobacco— The old man said he would go to war himself to take care of his young men, begging I would cover the bodies of such as should fall in the Field.— I answered them, that their candid confession had entirely effaced every bad impression— That I considered them as being really my children— That those considerations ought to confirm them in their duty— what they owed to the King who sent them all they wanted— The advantage of cultivating the friendship of the other Nations— lastly the preservation of their lands, by expelling the Rebels—

Quitted our camp about 11 a m.— pitched about 9 miles below under an Eminence called Rattlesnake hill— The Top of it is flat and commands an extensive view of the Country with the course of the Ouabache for a considerable distance winding thro' a level Country Meadows and woodland pleasingly varied— a little lower down on the opposite shore is a small river called (*riviere du petit Rocher*)

6th It was very cold with a high wind, we encamped a little above a rising ground called by the French *la jouissance*, on occasion of the first meeting of the French with the Indians of this river, on which account there were great rejoycings on both sides—

7th. Passed the river and Village called Vermillion, and encamped two leagues below it on the opposite side, all the Indians of this Village absent on their Winter hunt—<sup>217</sup> The Shawanese applyed to me for leave to proceed to St. Vincennes to make a prisoner and get information to which I agreed—

8th. From 12 at Noon yesterday till late at Night it rained very hard with a tempestuous wind, towards morning the wind shifted and brought on snow with so keen an air that we were obliged to make fires in our tents before we could pack them up—

The Chiefs came to me this morning and reminded me of my promise to them at Detroit, that there should be attention paid to their customs &c*a* In consequence they decided I should allow them to decamp before us and pitch about 2 leagues distant, that they had a ceremonial to go thro which would take them some time, and they wished to be altogether for the purpose— I

consented,— this with the badness of the weather, prevented our getting away till one o’Clock afternoon— we encamped about 7 miles lower and opposite to the Indians— i e. on the opposite side of the river—

I had in the morning told Egushewai, the intention of the Shawanese desiring he would inform the rest of the chiefs, which he did, in the Evening they crossed the river, came to my tent, and requested that the Shawanese should be stopped— I urged every thing in my power for their going but in vain and was at length obliged to send to stop them—

The Savages employed themselves ’till a late hour, in their ceremonies, they sung to their budget Gods in uncouth but melancholy strains, then passed thro the encampment singing the war song at each separate camp of their tribes and our detachments—

As the breadth of the river now permitted, I this day ordered the boats should row in divisions abreast— I conversed with the chiefs on the method they should observe, on a nearer approach to the Enemy, and found their ideas conformable to what I should have adopted— A Body of Indians was to proceed on each side of the River having parties advanced to reconnoitre who were to be relieved occasionally—having mentioned to them the necessity of acting with every precaution on our nearer approach to St. Vincennes they approved, and further of the propriety of sending parties at some distance from St. Vincennes, on the road to the Falls of Ohio, and Kaskasquias, as well as below the Village on the river to intercept intelligence—

9th. We rowed this day about 8 leagues tho the wind was ahead— An order had been given at setting out against firing at game from the Boats but did not mean to restrain the Indians, till within a certain distance from the Enemy— The wild Turkies which are in vast numbers on this river fly across in flights of several scores together, had drawn the fire of the Indians, and by the glancing of a ball, the White Fish an old Shawanese chief had his eye struck out— without emotion he said, this comes from a friend, as lamenting that he should be wounded and not in fighting—

We encamped at the Cherakee steeps, (les Ecors des Tetes plattes)<sup>218</sup>

10th. The Weather cold and wind too high for the smaller craft— The chiefs assembled at my tent and the petit Gris (dappled faun) a Miamis chief spoke upon a white string of Wampun, lamenting the accident which happened the day before to the chief of the Shawanese, requesting them to consider it purely as an accident— That we ought not to repine at anything which happend by the permission of the great Spirit,— charged the chiefs to recommend to their young men to be less giddy, that we were now approaching an enemy, and it would become them to act with circumspection and not be squanderd in the woods in pursuit of game— To prevent their boats going too far ahead, and that they ought to imitate the order and regularity of the whites— That if they had listend to their fathers advice, this accident would not have happend— I approved and supported what he said— *Wa we ya pe yass in waa* the young Shawanese chief thanked him for his friendly condolence— Then spoke on the necessity of sending parties ahead and gave good reasons why the Shawanese should be employed on that Service—

I spoke privately with Egushewai, approved of what the young chief said at the same time assuring him I would not take such a step if not agreeable to the other nations— Jealousy among the Indians very common tho' industriously concealed— They determined to consult this night on the subject— I advised that some of different nations should be sent together as they would then be a check each on the other— That it was requisite the numbers of the enemy and their disposition should be discovered if possible, and to be speedy in their determination—

The Indians properest for a busyness of the kind, as they can go into a settlement with skins as for trade and not be suspected, whereas a white man and a stranger would immediately be stopped— Crooked legs related publicly all that passed with the Virginians declaring that since I had enjoined him he would not conceal any thing— He mentioned that his own son in law had been at St. Vincennes and had attended at the meeting with the Virginians, where he had informed them that the Ouiattanon and Quiquaboe Chiefs would come down to hold a conference with them, which however was false— That 'twas he who had persuaded the Ouiattanon Indians to accept a flag from the rebels,



that seeing the French settlers at St. Vincennes and Ouiattanon on good terms with them, he was at a loss how to act as, at Detroit I had told the Indians, if the Americans attempted an inroad into their country, it was their busyness immediately to repel them— That at a loss how to act they earnestly waited my arrival—

I spoke to the subject, pointing out the many contradictions evident in the speeches and actions of the Virginians—

Quiquapouhquaa added, that as Monsieur de Celoron had disappeared, they were without an adviser, and could not determine how to act—

We got to our encamping ground an hour before Sunset—

The Chiefs being assembled at my tent, I acquainted them with the orders of the day, and mentioned some particulars I was desirous the Indians should attend to, as, having some light canoes advanced some distance from the main body to communicate any alarm—

That what women and Children they had should be kept out of the way of danger in canoes apart— that they would from that time desist from firing at Game— That they would cease singing to their Gods at night— To examine the state of their arms and give into the Gunsmiths any that wanted repair— that the Shawanese and Quiquaboos were the properest to go on the reconnoitring parties, to procure intelligence at St. Vincennes— That on a nearer approach to the Enemy, I should instruct them how to act, and should at the same time be ready to attend to their proposals—

That I had left directions at Detroit for the care of the families of those who had followed me—

That I should find means to inform the French inhabitants they must expect no favor if found in arms on the side of the Rebels— in such a case no distinction would be made.—

11th It had frozen very hard last night, much ice floating in the River, apprehensive of the river being renderd impassable for boats—

Read to the men the orders of yesterday respecting the manner in which they must act, in case of an attack on the boats from the land— set off about nine o'Clock in the morning, arrived about 2 afternoon at the wintering ground of the Peanka-

shaas— went ashore and saluted the old chief called la Mouche noire,<sup>219</sup> (the black fly)— we were received with the beating of a drum, and the usual ceremony of firing small arms on our approach— They were told that we could not conveniently talk with them at that time but as we should encamp but a little below their Village I had something to say to them— Towards the close of day about 20 of them came down— I repeated to them nearly what I had said to the Ouiattanon Indians and further that they had not any thing to apprehend from those Tribes that accompanied me, as the procuring their tranquillity was chiefly what had brought us thro' their country— smoaked in the Calumet of the Quiquaboos—

The Black fly said they had expected us for two months past, and were rejoiced at our arrival— That they were in a lamentable condition, having on every side cause for apprehension, that they could not foresee which should have the upperhand the Virginians or we, but hoped we might, for should the Americans, the Indians must be completely wretched—

That they had no cause to lament the English Government having succeeded to the French, that I had given them courage by my speech, and they hoped I should inspire their young men with prudence—

They then presented me a Calumet, requesting that whenever I should smook in it, I might think on them and have pity of their women and children—

Another man with a cut nose (called la petite morve) said he would follow me to war, that he and I should divide the prisoners at St. Vincennes, as there but were two there, meaning that there were but two rebel Officers—

We were encamped a little above a place called la Soupe, from the boiling eddies in the river.

12th Had a talk with a young chief of the Peankashaas who told me, he should not be surprised if I had a bad impression of their Nation as some of them listened to the Virginians, (hinting at the old Tobacco and his Son) that those of his Village had not acted a like part, that he meant to follow me by land having a dependence on me but that the promises of the Virginians were but as wind &ca

I answerd him, that I wished him and his people to consider the king of England as their father, that while they continued faithfull they might depend on his protection— saluted them with 3 Guns—

About noon we discovered a raft on the West side of the river with a fire kindled on it, the Indians immediately put ashore, we followed, and the men were soon drawn up making three fronts and leaving a reserve to guard the boats— The Indians followed a Track for some distance but returned without making any thing of it— we concluded it was some scout from the Enemy—

The usual guards and pickett were posted and we encamped as it began to rain—

13th. Before day went to the encampment of the Savages, and talkd with them about sending a party on each side of the river to reconnoitre and a canoe ahead, they accordingly did so, P. de Quindre and Pierrot Chesne accompanied them— They had orders not to stop till they got low enough for our next encampment—

It blew hard with some snow, we lay by, the Indians were sent out to hunt, and the Carpenters made a new Axle tree for the 6 poundr.

In the evening a Pouteouattamie returnd from hunting who said he had discoverd the tracks of 5 horses—

The Officers of the picquet had orders to detach four men from each flank who were to take a circuit in the Woods half an hour before day as a kind of Patrole, to meet at the distance of 1/2 of a mile and return together to their pickett—

As I thought the Enemy would certainly endeavor to get a knowledge of our numbers, and for that purpose would send a spy to count our fires when we should quit our encampment I had purposed leaving a party of Indians concealed near our camp in hopes of making a prisoner, I had horse bells which they might make use of to entice any hunters that might be abroad & mentioned this to Chamintawa and Egushewai who approved it— It was however neglected.

Kissingua went off in a mift taking a pirogue with him down the river, I conceived he meant to get a prisoner or other ways strike some stroke at St. Vincennes before our arrival. But on the

14th we overtook him, and no notice being taken of him he returned to camp—

Three old Miamis Indians, who had struck thro' the woods from Terre haute, came to the river side and were taken in greatly fatigued and very hungry having lost their way—

The advanced party did not make any discovery—

An Officer of the Indian department with a Serjeant and 7 men to go from the pickett guard at dawn of day to look for Tracks and reconnoitre the ground— Hole pins to be muffled— Went at night to the Indian fires, told the chiefs I was not prompted by idle curiosity to pry into their ceremonies. That I highly commended their praying to the great Spirit, that he probably was pleased with their adoration, since among them all, there was not one sick man— One of the chiefs thanked me for my visit and said, who is there on earth that does not adore the Master of life, the giver of all things, all who consider the various productions of nature, must worship the supreme Lord—

The Priest at one of their camps stood at some distance from their fire, with his face toward the Wood having his budget hung upon two forked sticks, and in a very loud voice at the full extent of his lungs sung a hymn having a Chichiquoe or Indian rattle in his hand with which he kept time— at certain pauses he howled like a Wolf, snorted like a horse, or imitated the cry of some wild beast or bird— sometimes he uttered three distinct howls so loud and at the same time so dismal, as might have made the Knight of the fulling Mills tremble—

'Tis a rule with them not to pass before their Natte or Budgett On encamping they are placed something advance and towards the Enemy, in their water expeditions they are put in the bow of the canoe which they turn with the stern to the shore, that they may not irreverently step over their- Natte— It is a known fact that a Chief (I think of the Miamis) going to war and having charge of the Natte, finding that some one had profaned the ground in front of the War budget immediately drew out a knife and stabbed himself to the heart, such is their blind reverence to their devoted relics and scraps—

The Indians as I have already mentioned, have great faith in dreams— some had dreams that we were to meet the Rebels at



Terre haute, the son of masgaiash, a Chippowey chief dreamed last night that all the English with some few of the Savages were to fall in action, that about 20 French were to be killed, and the rest save themselves by flight— I mention dreams as it is necessary to endeavor to find some method to quiet their superstition, rather than mock or insult them— many managements are necessary with them— I exhorted the Ouiattanon Indians to follow the example of the lake Indians in showing humanity to their prisoners—

15th. Another Vision— A terrible engagement— all smoke! to be attacked on both sides the river— the affair to begin tomorrow about two o'Clock afternoon— sent off scouting parties this morning by land, before Sunrise—

The Indians decline sending any of their people in canoes to reconnoitre— much ice this morning in the river— A review of arms— determine to send (if practicable) a party in canoes to pass the post of St. Vincennes to intercept any craft that might be sent down with intelligence— — About two o'Clock afternoon the reconnoitring party returned with a Lieutt. Brouillett of the Militia of St. Vincennes,<sup>220</sup> and three men, sent by the Commandant of St. Vincennes (Captain Helm) to reconnoitre— This Lieutenant had written instructions upon him at the time he was taken, signed (as well as a Commission for serving as Lieutenant in Bosseron's company) by Captain Helm, and at the same time was found on him a Commission as Lieutt. of Militia signed by Lieutt. Govr. Abbott— I should not certainly have hesitated at the propriety of hanging this fellow on the first tree but for two reasons— I was unwilling to whet the natural propensity of the Indians for blood, and I wished to gain the perverted Frenchman by Lenity—

The arms of the prisoners, I gave to the Indians who took them— The men were sent to the Guard— At Night orderd the Chiefs to assemble, acquainted them with what was proper they should know of the intelligence given by the Prisoners— They said they should dance for the last time and then acquaint me with the result of a council they meant to hold— They got Major Hay's warbelt and mine and danced till after midnight.

16th. Rain— however we set off and got to a place called

la carrierie (the Quarry) a wintering ground of the Peankashaas— This morning I consulted with the chiefs about sending scouting parties to lay on the roads from St. Vincennes to the Illinois, and to the falls of Ohio, to intercept any intelligence of our arrival, I also communicated my intention of sending off Major Hay with Captain La Mothe's Company the Detachmt. of the Kings with Lt. DuVernet and some of the Chiefs who should first reconnoitre the place and if they should find the report of the Prisoners faithfull, to take possession, and proper guards being posted, every step might be taken to prevent disorder, and particularly to store the liquor that the drunkenness of the Savages might be prevented—

Melioutonga, otherways Meligoua (in French la petite Vielle) a Peankashaa, who tho' no chief is attended to by his Tribe came with his brother and son, telling me candidly he had been at St. Vincennes to procure from them what he wanted for his family, but finding how little dependance there was on the promises of the Virginians he had return'd of his fools errand that he plainly saw a father in me, since tho I had come from so great a distance, I had nevertheless kept something for my children— That to prove his sincerity, he had brought me his heart (meaning his son) to go to war with me—

On Major Hay's setting off, the young Indians fearing they should not share in the busyness, got in a violent hurry into their canoes with design to accompany him, some of the Chiefs with the interpreters came in haste to inform me of it. I ran directly to the waterside and with some difficulty pacyfyed them. In the evening went to their camp and represented to the Chiefs, the absolute necessity of their young men being obedient and attentive to order—

Major Hay proceeded down the river, and lay in the neighbourhood of the Fort, but overtook the scouting party who had not gone so far as I had directed— however they were on their guard and one of the Indians had discovered our people, coming under cover of the night and counterfeiting the call of a wild Turkey—

17th. Snowed a good deal with a very cold wind, set off as early as possible— On my approach to St. Vincennes was not a little surprized to see at a landing place about a small mile above

the fort, our boats with a small guard, and the Gunboat with the flag, hawled on shore—

The American flag at the same time being displayed on the Fort I now presumed that some reinforcements had come to the Garrison and that the French inhabitants meant to assist in the defense in conjunction with their new friends, it proved otherwise, however I orderd the men ashore, drew them up with a double front posted sentries, and went to an eminence to get a view of the Fort. I presently discerned Major Hay with the men drawn up at a small distance at the old Village of the Peankashaas, who sent to me to inform me that the Inhabitants were bringing in their arms, not designing to make any resistance— Seeing some of the principal inhabitants and understanding from them that the Rebel Officer was deserted by the French Volunteers who had engaged to serve on the Congress pay, I proceeded to the fort with the detachment of the King's regiment the 6 pr. in front, and sent to summon the Officer— He desired to know who it was that summond him, being informed and that I was at the Wickett, he asked what terms he might expect— He was answerd, that his situation did not admit of any other than his being treated with humanity— On this the Wickett was set open, and my first care was to place centrys at the Gate to prevent the Savages getting in, but as there were ports for the small cannon, which had not been secured within, two or three of the smoaked skins had got in, those without seeing them overbore the Centries, not listening to the Interpreters their chiefs, or me who did all in their power to restrain them— A scene of confusion now followed for the Savages first object was the securing some horses which had been bought up at the Illinois for Congress, and which had been kept up in the Fort to the number of 32— These Creatures were terrified at the Tumult and scamperd round the Fort trampling and over-setting all that came in their way, on the Gate being thrown open they found their way out, and each had very shortly a rider— Centries being immediately posted at Captain Helm's door, I hoped to secure for him any furniture or goods he might have, but the Savages hoping to find Plunder or Rum, went to the rear of the house and presently got in at the Windows,— Captain Helm told me there was a barrel of Rum in the house and he apprehended

the consequences should the Savages get at it, a centinel was immediately set who secured it, and the Savages having soon satisfied their curiosity moved out, having first appropriated whatever they thot. worth carrying off— One of them going thro' a dark passage fell into a Cellar and put out his shoulder, but the Surgeon being at hand, it was almost presently reduced— The scouting party which I had orderd to waylay the road to the Illinois, intercepted the Messenger who had been sent by C. Helm with notice of our Arrival to Colol. Clarke at Kaskasquias— The express was well mounted and had a guide, but fell into the snare and was brought in with his letter, unhurt by the Savages—

Not a single shot was fired in the course of the day, nor did the Savages commit any excess but in plundering the horses in the Fort— Guards were mounted, and patroles orderd to pass thro' the Village every hour to prevent accidents—

In this miserable picketted work called a fort, was found scarce anything for defense, the want of a well was sufficient to evince its being untenable— two Iron three pounders mounted on truck carriages and two Swivels not mounted constituted its whole defence, for there were not even platforms for small arms, nor men to use them the Company of rascal volunteers 70 in number having to a man deserted on our approach, and left Captain Helm with only three Virginians for a Garrison—

I allowed him liberty on giving his parole, and assurance that he would not by letter or otherways give any intelligence to the Americans—

*Hamilton at Vincennes,  
December 18, 1778, to February 22, 1779.*

18th. At 12 o'Clock at noon, the men were drawn out on the Esplanade to fire three vollies, and twenty one rounds of the 6 lbr. as a royal salute— I declared aloud the occasion, which was the retaking possession (by His Majesty's subjects) of the territory lately invaded by the Rebels, thanked the Officers who had honord me thus far with their company—

The Church bell was then toll'd to assemble the inhabitants



When I represented to them their misbehaviour after the Oath of Allegiance they had taken, and the gratefull address they had presented to Governor Abbott— told them I placed all this to the account of a few persons, whose base example they had followed, and whose misconduct should be remembered to them, that I could not promise them protection till they recanted their attachment to the Rebels, and that nothing but their future good behaviour could efface the memory of their perfidious conduct—

Held a council with the Savages, explained to them what had just passed—

In the Evening had an account from Mr. F. de Quindre that some of the Rebels were expected from the Illinois, he offerd to go the west side of the river with some Indians to reconnoitre he went, but it proved a groundless report.

About 12 at night the Corporal of the guard who had been to patrol to the Batteaus, reported that the Indians had surprized three Virginians on the West side of the river— this also proved false—

About one o'Clock Captain Mc. Leod came along with J. Hunot who said he was informed by a Shawanese Indian, that 400 men were on their march from the Illinois, & would be at the Village of St. Vincennes at Cock crowing— this also proved false intelligence—

As I have since had reason to believe the inhabitants of the Post were determined upon betraying me on the first opportunity, I must suppose these reports were raised either with the view of seeing what measures I should take in case of an attack, or by repeating false information to make me inattentive to all alarms—

This day Montbrun who had acted as Adjutant to the Rebels at this point came to me, and made a declaration that he had never taken an oath of Allegiance to the Crown, that he had been solicited to take a commission from the Rebels, which he delivered into my hands— I assured him that if I found his declaration to be true I would consider him accordingly—

19th. Met the inhabitants in the Church at noon— I informed them of the cause of my assembling them, that as they had brought in their arms when summoned, their lives had been spared, but that they could not expect protection unless they adjured their

attachment to the Rebels, and returnd to their Allegiance to their rightful Sovereign, renewing their Oath, that I had drawn up a form of an oath which should be read and explained to them that they might not inconsiderately perjure themselves afresh— They then pressed forward with great eagerness to take the Oath, but I stoppd them and told them they must first hear and think upon the tenor of it— The Oath was in French to the following purport—

"We whose names are hereto subscribed declare and acknowledge  
"having taken an oath of fidelity to the Congress, that in so doing  
"we have forgot our duty to God and Man, we implore the pardon  
"of God, and hope from the goodness of our lawfull Sovereign  
"the King of Great Britain that he will accept our submission,  
"and take us again under his protection as good and faithfull  
subjects

"which we promise and swear before God and men we will  
hereafter

"become, in Witness whereof we sign our respective names, or set  
"our customary Mark, this 19th. day of December 1778

At Post St. Vincennes—<sup>221</sup>

Two hundred and fifty men capable of bearing arms signed their names to this oath, having first kissed a silver crucifix at the foot of the Altar— such however was the conduct of these people after this solemn act, that I have no reason to doubt their having immediately after turned their thoughts to the accomplishment of their treacherous designs—

This day two canoes arrived from below loaded with flour, the men who brought them being questiond after some equivocation declared there were other small craft below at the distance of 12 leagues, upon which I orderd Lieutenant Schieffelin with a Serjeant and eleven men to fall down the river a little after Sunset to the mouth of the Riviere blanche to intercept them.<sup>222</sup>

The following transaction (however trifling) may serve to illustrate the character of Indians and their customs in war—

On the day of our arrival at the fort, a young Shawanese *Wa we ya pe yap in waa* desired to see Captain Helm, which being granted he layd his hand on his shoulder, or took him by the hand saying, you are incapable of defending yourself, surrender yourself

a prisoner to me— Just then Kissingua came up, and laying his hand on the Prisoner's head, made the same claim— The Indians consider that man as a prisoner, who is seized by the hair, so the affair was pleaded in Council, when the Shawanese, not only gave up his claim, but desired Kissingua might be reputed the captor, and receive the belt usually given to redeem a prisoner, and which I had at Detroit promised to give to the first who should make a Prisoner, the value about 3£ Sterling— Kissingua's plea was short, do we go to War for heads or hands?

When an Indian would save a prisoner, he throws his belt over his Shoulder, which secures him effectually from all harm, The person who gains a belt as Kissingua did is expected to signalize himself on the first occasion.—

20th. Some more of the inhabitants took the oath of fidelity to His Majesty—

I met all the War and Village chiefs at a council in the Fort, The Old Tobacco and his son were present—

Having addressd the chiefs, and returned them thanks for their good behaviour from the time of their leaving Detroit, I observ'd that when I lookd round, I saw but two strange faces, that there were but two men in the council to whom I had not held out my hand, that their imprudent conduct was the cause, and that unles they alterd their sentiments I never should consider them but as links broken off from the chain with which I had bound all my children— I reproached them with their conduct in regard to Lord Dunmore's grant, & told them how I had acted at Ouiatanon—<sup>223</sup>

Egushewai rose afterwards and advised them to open their ears, and pay attention to what I said, as I spoke the sentiments of all present, thankd me for endeavoring to bring them to their understanding, told them that the lands in question reverted to its former state and owners, expressed his thankfullness to the King, for sending one among them who endeavored to unite them all in one interest, and concluded by advising them not only to listen to, but remember for a long time what they heard this day, took them both by the hand, desiring them to be strong, & think upon what ground they stood—

Necaquongai or the petit Gris exhorted them to think upon

God above, and be wise— Pacane advised them to pay attention to what had been said. Quoiquipinang told them that all the chiefs present had no other sentiments on this subject than their father— Dawatong desired them to swallow down the words they had just heard, and keep them near their hearts—

The young Tobacco then rose up and said, I thank you all for what I have this day heard, I have not lost a syllable, You are yourselves to blame you chiefs, you have 'till now been afraid to come thus far from your homes to encourage me, I was dismayed being so inconsiderable as I am and without advice or support, I am but a young man; When the Rebels came into the country I was alarmed, what I have done was from a sense of my own weakness; Why should I use many words, I am glad to join my hand with yours, and to shew my father I am sincere I will put into his hands what was given me by a King or great chief—

He then gave me some certificates of different dates, of his good behaviour to the white people, signed by English French and Spanish commanders at different posts.

I told him I was well pleased at his proceeding, that I felt my heart in its right place, since he gave me room to think his professions were sincere &c.—

Lieutenant Schieffelin returned, without any intelligence. In the evening sent down Lieutenant Chabert and Mr. F. Maisonville with 13 men to stop any craft that might pass the mouth of the Ouabache with supplies to the rebel posts—

wrote to Monsieur de Rocheblave to inform him that I should endeavor at effecting his exchange for Captain Helm—

21st. Nothing extraordinary.

22d. Called the Chiefs together to consult about sending off scouting parties to the rivers mouth, to the falls of Ohio, and to Kaskaskias— They said they would consider of it, and give me an answer— This day made a small magazine in the fort covered with raw hides.

Seven Shawanese came in from their wintering ground on white River, where was an encampment of 40 of them.

23d. Sent for *Wyndeege* the Pouteouattamie Chief, and proposed his going to the Illinois with Belts &c— found him as docile as I could wish. Spoke with Kissingua about his undertaking



a Journey to the Natchez with letters for Mr. Stuart the agent for Indian affairs, Belts for the Cherakees and Chickasaas, that Edward Hazle should accompany him—

He told me that his design had been to return to the River Glaize but that since I had cast my eyes on him, I should find I had made a good choice, as he was not only a sensible man, but knew the country, was afraid of nothing and was personally known to Mr. Stuart— He then asked me what consideration he was to have, I told him I should certainly pay him well, but had not time to enter into particulars as I expected the Chiefs—

They came accordingly at 12 o'Clock— I first talkd with the Ottawas, Chippoways, and Pouteouattamies, showed them how necessary it was to be well with the Shawanoes and Chickasaas, that the Ouabache Indians would not be induced to act in concert, unless they had some fear from an alliance which would in a manner oblige them to take a part, that tho the Lake Indians had come from so great a distance to drive the Virginians out of their country, they had not shewn any disposition to take an active part, that to keep up an union 'twas proper that all should join in the present war—

I took this opportunity to make some presents to my Son *Mabingan* the young Ottawa chief, who had followed me from *pointe aux Chènes* tho' very ill, and to *Macutté Mung*, another young chief of the same nation— These two young people I had had but an indifferent opinion of at setting out, but had behaved remarkably well—

The other chiefs came in afterwards, I explained my views to them in sending belts to the Illinois Shawanese and Chickasaas, which latter I wished should act so as to engage the attention of the Virginians to the southward while we should make inroads upon the frontiers on our side.

*Egushewai* who had taken notice that some of the Ouabache Indians were hovering about while we were in Council, and he thought might be jealous of our being so long together rose up, saying, Father, you are wrong to make any secret of what we should all be acquainted with, and if the River Indians should be disgusted and go home, you must attribute it to their suspicious temper, for my part I shall not go home 'till the Spring, but will

go to the River's mouth tho the weather be very severe—

Several of the Indians came this day for provision and powder being on their return to their respective Villages—

A dispute happend yesterday between the Chippoways and Ottawas, but had no issue—

24th. Sent off Lieutenant Schieffelin with 7 men in a Pirogue at the same time Egushewai with some Ottawas, and Canadians with Pierrot Chesne in all 30, to the river's mouth to watch for rebel or other boats, In the Evening one la Tour who had been on the Ohio, and was returning from his hunting was sent to me by Lt. Shieffelin with the information that the Cherakees with some Ottawas, Shawanese and Delawares were assembled at the mouth of the Cherakee river,<sup>224</sup> with design to intercept any of the Rebel boats going down or coming up the Mississipi—

Sent off Lieutenant de Quindre, with the old Raccoon Wabangay, and Methusaagay's son with 16 Indians, to lay upon the road to Kaskaskias, to intercept any Straglers, they returnd at 6 in the Evening, bringing in two prisoners one a Piedmontese named Vigaud,<sup>225</sup> the other a Canadian trader one Renaud with letters from the Illinois which contained nothing material—

This day some Ouiattanon Indians came to me requesting that they might be permitted to cut a lock of hair off the head of one of the Virginian prisoners taken in the fort, to be placed in the Reliquaire of their Natte or Budgett— being granted they performed the ceremony with much gravity, and each present shook the prisoner by the hand—

I made a present of a pound of Vermilion to a Warrior of the Ouiattanon nation called *great Eyes*, which was highly acceptable— One of the speakers of the nation said to me, Father you have judged well, that man and all his progenitors have been eaters of men, when he goes to war, he rubs his mouth with vermillion that he may inspire those who see him with horror, you could not have made him a greater present— Whether the meat be green or stale, he can eat it—

I told them I endeavored all I could to give understanding to my children, that those who heard me every day had learned to abstain from cruel actions, that none but men with arms in their hands were proper objects of the warrior's resentment, that

to lose the name of Barbarians, they must cease to act as Wolves—

That when a peace should be made by order of the King, those Children who should be spared in the course of the war, would help to water the tree of peace and preserve its branches unbroken.

25. Wyndeego a Pouteouattamie Chief with Eskibee<sup>226</sup> and 13 men set out up on a scout to Kaskasquias, taking with them Letters to Janis and Cerré two of the principal inhabitants at that place, written by Monsr. Monforton advising them to act steadily in support of the English Government.<sup>227</sup>

Methusaagai came in to my room and appeared to be a little in liquor, after some time he asked for a bottle of rum producing an empty one which he had under his blanket— I told him he appeared to have got enough already, and that I would not give him any more, upon which he rose up as in a fury, and dashed his bottle to pieces—

I appeared perfectly unmoved, he sat down again and continued in sullen silence for a good while, then advancing towards me offerd me his hand, which I receiving he shook mine very heartily and went away smiling— I found afterwards that this was meant as a tryal, he having taken it in his head that he was slighted and some of the other chiefs, preferrd determined to be resolved, & acted in that manner to see how I should behave, but seeing that I took no offense but treated it merely as a drunken freak he went away contented.

This day Kissingua and Hazle were sent off for the settlement of the Natchez, the former with belts for the Chickasaas & Cherakees, the latter with a letter for John Stuart Esqr. Superintendant of Indians for the Southern department, in which I gave him an account of the disposition of the Lake and River Indians, and acquainting him that I should be ready in the Spring to make an extensive impression upon the frontier, while he should employ the Southern Indians on the borders of the Carolinas— &ca.

These were two daring enterprizing fellows, but I was apprehensive the Indian might in the course of so long a journey conceive a Jealousy which might prove fatal to his companion.

Examined the prisoners brought in from Kaskasquias, found from them that there was no discipline or regularity observed by

the Americans, that they were billeted upon the inhabitants, and squandered at large thro' the settlement—

26th. Two Delawares came in from the white river who reported that a Chickasaa and a Delaware with two Ottawas went lately to the Shawanese and Delawares, with belts from the Chickasaas and Cherokees by which they desired them to forget former animosities, that they might act strenuously in concert against the Rebels— that the Southern Indians were assembled at the Chickasaa river, being invited by an Officer in the King's service to oppose the rebels, and keep the Mississipy clear of their boats &ca.—<sup>228</sup> That in three months they were to proceed to Kaskasquias and St. Vincennes, turn out the Rebels and their abettors—. They said further that the messengers were to have returned in 30 days, but had been now absent 40— that the Kings troops had dispossessed the Rebels of some settlement they had had possession of on the Mississipi—

I assembled all the chiefs, and related these circumstances to them, as also the purport of Kissingua's errand.—

27th. A party of 5 Quiquaboes went on a Scout towards Kaskasquias.

The *deaf man* a Peankashaa chief with some of his nation, presented me a string of white Wampum painted green, representing the river Ouabache, which should be always free from all impediments for me and my children (meaning the Lake Indians). Also a string of blue Wampum requesting me to have pity upon their wives and Children, the usual way of begging provisions, cloathing, powder &ca

Wyndeego returnd with a prisoner taken on the road to Kaskasquias but who could not give any information worth notice—

This day some of the inhabitants who had been absent at their Buffaloe hunting when we arrived, took the oath of Allegiance to the number of 40.—

Two hundred and fifty Men, Inhabitants of the Post appeared under Arms this day on the Parade—

The Powder was brought into the new magazine in the Fort, as well what belonged to the King, as that of private persons, which was only deliverd to those who went to hunt Buffaloe for their winter provision— notwithstanding the most diligent



search made, & a heavy fine laid upon any who should secret Gunpowder, we afterwards found that they contrived to hide it effectually and employ it when occasion offerd—

28th. Finished a Barrack for 50 men— At work sinking a Well. Completed a Guard house near the Gate.

A Warparty of Ouiattanons (the *petite face* at their head) 19 in number desired to go on a decouverte to Kaskasquias and that Charles Baubin should go along with them—

Others came desiring leave to return to their own homes— The *Grand Sioux* was of this number, who said he professed a different religion from the rest, that he worshipp'd the malignant Spirit (The God of War) that as he had not his Natte with him he could not go against the enemy, for not having his Guardian Manitou with him, he was apprehensive that the good and great Spirit might take advantage of it, and destroy him—

At night gave Baubin a letter for Janis at Kaskasquias, and Hypolite Baulon (interpreter to the Ouiattanons another for Monsieur Cerré, with a placart addressed to the inhabitants of the Illinois—

The Commissary purchased by order, 30 carcasses of Buffalo salted at 10 Sols the pound—

Three Messieurs De Quindre Lieutenants in the Indian department desired leave to return to Detroit, I told them that when I engaged them to enter into the Service, I had wished to benefit them as well as the King's service, but since they did not find their account in it, they were at liberty to return, and that I would furnish them with certificates for their pay—

As no cause of discontent had been given 'twas not till some time after I had cause for accounting for this request—

Orderd a recencement of the inhabitants to be taken by Messrs: Bellefeuille and Montbrun—

29th. The following returns were prepared to be sent to the Commander in Chief— Of Effectives— Of the Militia of St. Vincennes, Of Stores &c found in the fort— A plan of the fort— Copies, of Captain Helm's letter to Colonel Clark, of the placart, and of the Oath tenderd to the Inhabitants of the post— Prices of provisions—<sup>229</sup> &c—

Gave the de Quindres their certificates—

30th. The Grande Coete (great Queue) principal Chief of the Peankashaas arrived with 35 followers on horseback—

31st. Finding a dissatisfaction prevail among the Militia from Detroit, which I could only attribute to the management of some persons who should have acted a far different part, I determined to gratify them by dismissing them which I did giving them certificates for their pay to the 24th. January, and ten days provision to last them to the Miamis— kept the arms of one half, and allowed arms to the remainder for their security in passing thro' the Indian Villages— Went this day to the little river<sup>230</sup> to examine the state of a Sawmill, and a grist mill on this stream— The former is so stationed as to be unserviceable when the Ouabache rises as it did this winter, the latter is but poorly secured against Land floods—

Took down two billiard tables in the Village— Sent off the packett with letters for the Commander in Chief,<sup>231</sup> Govr: Cramahé, Captain Lernoult & Mr: Macomb at Detroit.

1779 January 1st. The Savages as is usual on the first day of the year, came to make their compliment discharging their pieces at the Gate of the Fort, I went out to give my hand to the Chiefs, when Sastaharitze the Chief of the Wyndatts spoke for the rest, wishing the great spirit might prosper all our undertakings[,] saluted the King of England and his children, and having received the accustomed present of some rum and Tobacco, went away and behaved very quietly & soberly, not so the drunken thoughtless inhabitants of the Village—

The Militia Officers came also in compliment, I told them I hoped they would maintain order and subordination among the inhabitants, that they should be supported in their Authority, and disobedience punished with severity—

From their conversation I found that the attempts of the most reasonable among them to encourage order, decency, or the education of children, were frustrated, or ridiculed by the indolent vicious ignorant inhabitants— It must be observed that diligence and industry would speedily pay themselves in this Country, very extensive meadows supply abundance of pasture for Cattle in Summer, the hay is sweet and strong, and their Cattle could

easily be fodderd thro' the Winter, but the people are in general too lazy to make sufficient provision— The soil is rich tho' light, Tobacco, Maiz, wheat, millet, pease, Garden Stuff thrive well— Sugar is made from the Maple, the woods are distant half a league in some parts a league from the Village, and consist of Oaks of different sorts, Nutwood, Beech of a great size, Elm, Plane, Ash, Mulberry, Yellow wood, Locust, and Leatherwood, the bark of which may be stripped at any time of year, and is very usefull to the Indians and hunters, serving to secure their temporary huts, tie their packs & various other purposes— The soil is thin and sandy, but black & fertile, below this is gravel to a considerable depth, so that Wells are readily sunk and the water is cool and wholesome, without this circumstance the place would not be habitable, as in Summer the river is very low, the water hot & tastes fishy, the river abounding in fish, yet the inhabitants dont take the trouble to catch them—

There are many fine salt springs in the neighbourhood, but salt is sold at 4 pounds New York Currency the bushell, Maple Sugar tho' to be made with little labour & no expense in the Woods, 4 dollars the pound, the common clay tobacco pipes 6 dollars the dozen, other articles proportionably extravagant. Their fields of corn are not enclosed, all their cattle being pennd in one common enclosure of about 2000 Acres in extent— Most of the farmers content themselves with harrowing over the old stubbles, and sow their grain without any other precaution— the harrow commonly used is in the form of a rake ten feet long with teeth about 8 inches in length, this drawn by one horse— They use no manure even for Tobacco, tho the quantity of filth about their houses would furnish great abundance,

Their barns are rarely weather proof, being carelessly covered with bark, instead of shingles or thatch which are very easily procured— Venison and wildfowl are plentyfull and very good— The Buffaloe is hunted at a good distance from the settlement, having boned and salted the flesh in bulk, the hunters pour the tallow over it, and thus convey it in their pirogues as far as to N. Orleans where they exchange it for liquors, & other commodities. Deer, Bear, Turkies, Raccoons, Pheasants, Quails are in sufficient numbers—

floating Corn mills might easily be employed as the current of the river Ouabache is strong most part of the Year, in lieu of these they use Horse Mills which are expensive and tedious— On a little stream 2 miles to the eastward of the Village is a Grist Mill, which one Cartier (almost the only industrious man among them) has lately improved and repaired, after it had lain unemployed for 5 years— The Sawmill is a good one—

2d. Some Miamis Indians returned from a Scout. no. ex.<sup>232</sup>

3d. A party of Quiquaboes returned with a sick man, had left Baulon and Baubin at the little Ouabache—

The Detroit Militia set off this day homeward— wrote to Monsieur Baby, by Labodie—

4th. Sent for the Officers of the Militia who had received commissions under Governor Abbott, which had been replaced by others under the power of Congress— Among them came Bosseron who had been Captain of the Volunteer Company 70 men designed as garrison in the fort, but who deserted Captain Helm on our approach— This fellows commission was interlined with the most indecent and scandalous scraps, of disloyalty &c.

When I showed it to him, he acknowledged that it was shameful and inexcusable, and that he was heartily sorry for it, I told him that his sense of his fault was some reparation and that I hoped he would make amends by good behavior for such unmanly doings— The dissembling Villain went away in tears which appeared to be the genuine effects of shame.

It is scarce to be wondered at, that the inhabitants of this remote place, (a refuge for debtors and Vagabonds from Canada,) should be lost to every principle of probity and honor, when they were under the influence of so worthless a mortal as the Ecclesiastic Gibault— This man who was openly guilty of every kind of immorality and licentiousness, had, some time after the Rebels had taken possession of the Illinois, assembled a number of the Inhabitants of St. Vincennes, & told them, that the Americans being now in possession of the Illinois & Detroit taken, they would be exposed to the resentment of the Americans if they quitted the post without taking out proper papers, and taking an oath of fidelity to the states— He then formally absolved them from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and was the first



to cry out Long live the Congress— In this he was followed by all persons, the King's colour were delivered to the Priest, who carried them to Colonel Clarke then at Kaskasquias—<sup>233</sup>

5th. The Piankashaà chief *Grande Coète* came to me this Morning to explain his situation— This man had been at Detroit, and was very well treated, came away perfectly satisfied— indeed his manner and behaviour entitled him to notice, With very good sense and a very modest behaviour, he was perfectly sober, never touching spirituous liquors, and more from complaisance than liking tasting even wine— he had a manly openness of Character & was highly esteemd by his own people— This man told me that he had not listend to the Rebels from inclination, but that having heard that Detroit was for a certainty in their hands, he had no resource for ammunition etca. but from the Americans—

//Had the French inhabitants chose to have set this man right in that point, it was easily to be done, but probably they were the first to impose on him—//

He said he had been at Ouiattanon with Captain Helm from whence he should have proceeded to the Miamis to know the truth of the report, but the Chiefs at Ouiattanon dissuaded him— //This was probably the doings of Monsieur de Celoron// —Some Delawares came in from White River, and confirmd the accounts formerly given of the assembling at Cherakee river—<sup>234</sup>

6th. A young Saqui came to ask for a War Axe, saying he never went to war without doing something— He received one and presented it to the Young Tobacco, who sharpend it for him, that is he took it from him, sung the War song & danced, then returned it.—

The Carpenters were employed in framing a Barrack 40 feet long by 18— 6 men in digging the Well— The inhabitants in squaring oak logs for the Blockhouses—

7th. The Well sunk to the level of the water.

8th. Nothing extraordinary—

9th. A young Peankashaa of Baubin's party, returnd with a Prisoner, by the name Jean l'oignon who had been engaged to bring letters from Kaskasquias— the prisoner was almost

perished with cold— The Indian had swam across the Ouabache with his Gun, leaving his Prisoner (who was not in a condition to escape,) to make a fire for himself at Riviere aux embarras— Charles Reaume and Grande Coète set off to bring the Prisoner, and returned with him at 2 o'Clock in the morning— This man brought a letter from a Lieutenant Rogers to Captain Helm acquainting him among other particulars, that an express had arrived at Kaskasquias from Cahokia, with an account that 500 Indians with some English and French, were in their march to the Illinois—

//This account respected us who had come by the way of the Miamis, and had probably been given as warning to the Rebels to prepare for an attack// He added that only one boat had arrived at Kaskasquias from New Orleans with Liquors—that Powder was very scarce, not 1000 lb in the Settlement— That when the French inhabitants talked of going over to the Spanish side, if the Indians should come against the Fort, Colonel Clarke threatened to burn the houses of any who should leave the Settlement— That they had not any batteaus at Kaskasquias—that the settlers at the Natchez had sent a present to Gibault the Priest of a sword, with eight Dollars for the purchase of a string wherewith to hang himself. that fifteen of the Americans had deserted to the Natchez—<sup>235</sup>

10th— Sent for the Chiefs, and acquainted them with the Account given by the Prisoner— We all concluded that Major De Peyster had sent a body of Indians to cooperate with us from St. Josephs and Michillimakina, but that their number could not exceed two hundred at the most— Lieutenant Schieffelin arrived from his progress to the Ohio, in the course of which a Corporal and six men of Captn. Lamothes Company deserted him— A Canadian trader used to pass between the Post of St. Vincennes and the Illinois (Jean l'Ourse by name) was taken with a Pirogue loaded with flour &c.—

Egushewai parted from Lt. S. and proceeded on a Scout to Kaskasquias, with 14 Ottawas and Chippoways and 1 Delaware—

13th. Snow.

14th. Gave passports to Guillaume le Comte, and Vigaud the Piedmontese (Spanish subjects) the former bound to N. Or-

leans, the latter to Paincourt a settlement and post on the Western shore of the Mississippi nearly opposite to Kaskasquias— I gave Le Comte a letter for the Governor of New Orleans, Don Bernardo de Galvez,<sup>236</sup> brother to Don Miguel de Galvez the Spanish Minister, and another for Captain Bloomer commanding at the settlement of the Natchez— this last letter I did not expect to be delivered as addressed, and was designed by its contents to keep the different parties who might become acquainted with them, at their several posts— The former contained chiefly a remonstrance to the Spanish Governor upon the permission granted to the traders of New Orleans, to supply the Rebels at their posts with ammunition &c. also a warning to the Spanish Officers, commanding at the several posts on the Mississippi, not to give protection to the Rebels, otherways that they must abide the consequences—

15th. Raised the frame of the new Barrack— The young Tobacco desired to know from me if it was true what he had heard, that I only held him by the tips of the fingers only—

I told him 'twas the first I had heard of it, that my treatment of him would not be regulated by what others said, but by his own Behaviour, advising him to adhere strictly to the promise he had made to the Chiefs in public, since if he proved insincere he must be a lost man, abandoned by the Indians and cast off by myself—

*Vaudrie* was the Interpreter, and inhabitant of St. Vincennes, who told me he had not been qualified as Interpreter by Govr. Abbott—

I promised him on his taking the requisite oaths, that he should have the same pay as Isidore Chésne—

Mr: Elliott returned from a Scout to the falls of Ohio, the Indians who were with him thought they were discovered, and could not be prevailed on to proceed—<sup>237</sup> The young Chief of the Shawanese however continued his march to the Shawanese Towns, saying his giving information to his nation of what was doing at St. Vincennes, was more material than his staying there—

16th. The Miamis came to acquaint me of their bad success at the falls of Ohio, saying they had yielded the command to the Shawanese, and that the Shawanese chief had told them I had

only directed them to go to the falls to see if the roads were clear (that is to report if the Enemy had any parties out) therefore he was averse from going in search of men to kill— that he himself would pass on to the Shawanese Towns and inform his people what had passed since he left them—

Young Tobacco came to take leave—

Three of the inhabitants (by name Boucher) who had been refractory and refused to do their Corvée, and who therefore had been kept to hard work in the Fort, were this day sent to their homes having promised to behave better in future, and taking the oath of Allegiance—

17th. Nothing extraordinary—

18th. The Captains of Militia set up their Poles— The Militia appeared under arms, being divided into three Companies according to their Districts—

A new Union flag was hoisted, and a royal salute fired in honor of her Majesty, our gracious Queen—

The Officers dined together in the Fort, and kept the festival in the best manner possible— Taffia—

19th. The Wyandatts expressed their desire of returning— I told them I should lay no restraint upon them, but thought they would be in the right to wait the return of the parties which had been sent out, and the arrival of the Delawares, who had the speeches of the Chickasaas—

They expressed their desire that Mr: Reaume should go with them, I said he was at his own disposal— he chose to stay

Sent off a small party of Ottawas and Chippoways with provision and Tobacco to meet the parties from Kaskasquias, and lend them assistance if wanted—

20th. *Pacane* came to take leave with his young men, saying he should return to me in the Spring by the way of the falls of Ohio—

Wabangai and his brother also who were to go to the *Patte de Dinde*,<sup>238</sup> and to return by the way of the falls by the time the maple juice should have done running—

The old Tobacco came on a visit and said the Delawares had told him that in the course of this moon, the Chaktaas Chickasaas, Cherakees, and Alibamas would come, part to St. Vin-



cennes to take the Ouabache Indians by the hand

Some to go against the Rebels at the Illinois, and some to assist the Shawanese upon the frontier—

from him I learnt that the Piankashaas are but lately settled in this neighbourhood, having formerly been a wandering nation— that before their coming to the Southward they had been stationed near the *Patócas*, commonly stiled Padoucas in the Maps a nation inhabiting the country 700, or 800 Miles from the mouth of the river *Misouri* to the N. W.

Mr: Elliott came to desire to leave to go to the Shawanese Towns and from thence toward Fort Pitt, to procure intelligence, as he had not succeeded in a former attempt—

Old Reaume a Miami of Eel river came to take leave, He said, Father, we have followed you to this place, on our march, God has been good to us, we have not lost a man either by the enemy, or by sickness— We have eaten up a deal of your provision, we have wanted for nothing, should we return to our villages as fat as you now see us, we should be ashamed to be seen, but we mean to take a circuit on our return, as we may possibly fall on the track of an enemy, by which means we may be something thinner on our arrival—

Our Women and children could not have subsisted in the Winter season unless some men had stayed to hunt for them, but in the Summer they do not need their help, we shall therefore on our return tell our men not to grow too fat, and we that go off tomorrow mean to return also

You may expect to hear from us soon—

21st. Nothing extraordinary—

22d. Hypolite Baulon returned from Kaskasquias, and with him the Ottawas and Chippoways sent to meet Egushewai— He reported that he had tenderd the papers I had sent by him, but that they were not received— That Egushewai was near having taken Colonel Clarke on his way to Cahokia— that a Delaware of Egushewai's party having got into Kaskasquias, had been closely questioned as to his errand, but had kept his council— That the Rebels had known nothing of our arrival, till the appearance of the scouting parties at the Kaskasquias—

23d. Lieutenant DuVernet of the Artillery came to tell me

he wished to return to Detroit— I asked his reason— He said we were quite inactive at this place, that he had come to see service, but since there was nothing to be done, he desired to return— I told him 'twas true we had not done anything yet, that he might well judge from our leaving Detroit so late as we did, nothing could be undertaken till the Spring, and that his return would have an odd appearance: however as the service could draw little advantage from a person who was detained against his inclination, I should only represent to him that such a step was not consistent with his voluntary offer of coming—that the regulars whom I had put under his command must remain without an Officer with other arguments to turn him from his design— in vain—

He said he was well pleased to be commanded by me, but that he could not brook taking orders from others— I said he should have reconciled that to himself, before he set out, that I being but a militia man myself, he must conclude that those who had command under me, must each be obeyed in his station— He complained of Captain La Mothe having interfered in the parade with his men, and seemed rather disposed to seek an excuse for his going away, than to listen to any reasons for his stay—

24th. *Egushewai* and his party with Baubin, Isidore Chésne, Pierre Chésne, Godefroi, Pillette from Kaskasquias— they had nearly taken Colonel Clarke & 3 of his Officers—

25th. The Hurons declared their intention of going home— *Egushewai* said that on his leaving Detroit, he had likewise purposed returning in the Spring, but that it was not yet Spring, that he should remain yet a while with his father and see how matters turned out— Others might do as they pleased— The Hurons said that tho they designed to return, they did not for that let go their father's hand, on the contrary they meant to acquaint their nation of what had happened here, and to invite some of their Warriors to come early in the Spring and join him—

The young Tobacco said he had some time ago endeavored to unite all the brown skins in one interest, and had for that purpose sent belts to several nations and to his Father But that probably they had not been delivered— He then showed a belt

which I had sent to him from Detroit, asked if I knew it again & recollected the purpose of it, which being told him, he gave up the belt, but it was returned to him again with a promise that while he acted up to his professions, he should be treated as well as other Chiefs—— //This same belt however he had given up to Captain Helm, and got back from him after we had got possession of Post Vincennes——//

*Methusaagai* gave notice of his design of returning with all his people, and asked for a medal for his son, and one for the Son of Massigaiash— Seven Shawanese arrived from the Chickasaas, having been 5 months passing from Village to Village with belts—

26th— The Chiefs of the following nations assembled at the fort this morning— Shawanese, Delawares, Wyandatts, Ottawas Chippoways, Miamis, Ouiattanons, Quiquaboos, and Peankashaas—<sup>239</sup>

*Egushewai* rose up, and in the usual stile addressed the supreme being, thanking him for granting us this opportunity of assembling to speak our minds, expressed his good wishes to all present, to His Majesty, the great Chief at Quebec, all His Majesty's Officers and Soldiers in the name of the chiefs present— then directed his speech to the Shawanese and Delawares, in particular, desiring them to be strong & to hold their Father by the hand as well as his Indian Children.

The master of life has no doubt taken compassion upon us since he has allowed us to assemble as friends in this place, let us then be sincere in our union, and act in concert for the defence of our lands. We see our father was foremost to rise up, and come thus far to frustrate the designs of the Virginians.

Brothers! You know there is a great tree under which we were used to confer peaceably and speak our minds, this tree grows at Detroit; let it be our study to keep that tree strait, that it may not bend to one side or another— The branches of this tree extend to a great distance and rise to the clouds, who is there capable of hurting even the bark of that tree? no one—

You may recollect that last spring some Chickasaas and Cherakees came to Detroit to water that Tree, I therefore recommend to you once more to be strong, & to defend your possessions,

which your father is doing his best to preserve for us.

—The Shawanese Strangers then spoke— Father and you our brethren listen to us! five Moons are now passed since we left our Village to go to the Creek Country, from whence we are just arrived— When we last went from this place the Officer who commanded (Captn Helm) gave us a letter for the chief of the Creeks, but as we feared it might contain something contrary to the welfare of the Indians, we have brought it back unopened, & now put it into your hands—

//This letter contained an exhortation to the Creeks, to discredit the reports of the English who always told them lies, to require them to remain quiet, assuring them that the Ouabache Indians had joined the Americans, and exulting the power and credit of the Americans.//

We have brought a Peoria Woman who was a prisoner among the Creeks, and whom they delivered to me, that I might bring her to her nation, but meeting Kissingua who told us he was allied to the Peoria nation, and who asked her of us saying he would deliver her to her friends, we gave her up to him—

There is a white man with him (Hazle)—

Kissingua desired us to tell his brethren of this river, to assemble any prisoners they may have among them belonging to the Creeks, as he designed bringing on his return any of their prisoners resident among the Creeks—

The Shawanese then produced a long white Belt from the great chief of the Creeks, which he desired might be forwarded to the Ouiattanons, and by them sent to the Lake Indians that all the nations might be acquainted with the friendly intentions of the Creeks towards them, and of their enmity to the Americans— that this belt opened a road of communication between them, which should always be kept clear, so as a child might walk with safety—

He then delivered a twist of Tobacco for the same Indians, desiring they might smoke it, as the chief of the Creeks did, when he thought on good things, & had compassion on the Women and Children of his nation—

The Shawanese further said that the upper towns of the Creeks had not taken up the hatchet against the Americans until



the last Spring, but that at present they were all engaged, and had made their way as far as to the Old Shawanese Villages, & had destroyed several small forts—

That the English had eight Forts on, and near the coast—that the Rebels had made an attempt on the greatest called the Stone fort, but that the Indians had met them on their March and repulsed them— That 800 of the inhabitants had come in to beg protection from His Majesty's officers— That they were in the utmost distress for want of cloathing, and at variance among themselves— He added that the Southern Indians were never so well supplied as at present, owing to the care of Mr. Stewart the Superintendant—

27th— The Chippoways being about to return, I sent to them to speak about a young man of the name of Williams, who had been taken prisoner by them on our first coming to St. Vincennes, and whom I was desirous of restoring to his friends, on the earnest application of Captain Helm— having told them my intention, *Methusaagai* said, Father! You ought not to think we can refuse you any request, since you are always ready to grant us what we ask— 'tis true, I had set my heart on taking this young man home, and meant to have adopted him in the place of one of my sons who died last year, but I shall give him up to you with pleasure— I thanked him, saying I had a better opinion of his regard for me, than to propose purchasing a favor of this kind, but that since he made me a present with so good a grace, he must accept something as a mark of my good will.—<sup>240</sup> On which some armbands, and a medal for the son of Massigaiash as well as for *Methusaagai's* son, and other silver works—

The old man said further, I am about to return to Detroit, where I shall attend to what the Chief (Captain Lernoult) shall say to me, unless he shall desire me to return to you next Spring with a small number of Warriors, in which case I shall not listen to him, as I am resolved to bring a large number— I have been ashamed to bring with me so few as have accompanied me on this occasion, it appears, as if I had stolen away from my Nation—

Egushewai and Chamintawa said they should remain with their young men, and act as they should be required, that if any warriors of their nation, or Chiefs, chose to act the same part they

might, but Michimunduck was the only one they invited—

This day all the timber and scantling for one of the Block-houses was finished and ready for raising—

The new barrack was clapboarded— A Corvée of 30 of the inhabitants was ordered to go to the Miamis, under the direction of the Commissary with ten Pirogues to bring down Provision—

Captain McLeod, Lieutt. St. Cosme, & Charles Baubien had leave to return at their own requests—

28th Two Delawares, A Shawanese, and four Piankashaas, went off to the salt lick above the falls of Ohio on a Scout—

The East Blockhouse was raised—

*Eshkibee* a Pouteouattamie chief, returnd from hunting he had design'd to have crossed the Ohio to make a Prisoner, but the Spring was not sufficiently advanced for him to bark a tree for making a canoe, so he was obliged to give up any thought of it, he said however, that as he had voluntarily come with me from Detroit, he should not return 'till I did, that he had now made himself acquainted with the Country and should shortly set off again for the Ohio—

29th The different tribes of Savages met at the fort, when the *little face* rose up, and expressed his satisfaction at the Message deliverd by the Shawanese from the Creek Indians— The *Grande Coète* then took me by the hand, saying that in so doing he took all his brethren the Indians by the hand, as they were now all united and had but one Father to look up to, he then presented six strings of black and white wampum with a small scalp, saying his brethren of different nations had often presented him with the like, that he followed their example, having heartily joined them, and presented me with that piece of dried meat, as a proof—

He then presented a pipe of peace, in which all present smoaked the Creek Tobacco, he said he was well pleased at finding a road was now opened between them and the Ouatannons, that he should promote to the best of his power a firm alliance between the two nations, and act in concert with them—

*The little face* then gave the Creek belt to Nicaquongai saying that he being of a nation who lived nearer to the Lake Indians than himself, it was proper he should forward it to them—

*Nicaquongai* made the same speech to the Ottawas and delivered the belt to them, desiring them to show it to their Allies—<sup>241</sup>

I thanked them for their attention to the advice they received from time to time, and applauded their unanimity—

Told them I should acquaint their father at Quebec of it, as well as the six nations, and that Methusaagai should take the speech of the Grande Coete with him to Detroit where it should remain till my return—

30th A Chief of the Peoria nation arrived with six of his followers, spoke highly in favor of the English, and professed his regard for Captain Lord who had commanded at the Illinois—mentioned the distress of his people for cloathing & ca.— They were well received and the Chief gave up a french Medal of L. 15. in lieu of one on the G. 3d—<sup>242</sup>

A three pounder mounted in the E. Blockhouse— The Chip-poways set out for their homes—

31st. *Eshkibee* presented himself with 10 warriors, & begg'd to have three white persons with him as he meant to go on a scouting party to the falls of Ohio—

Lt. Bondi of the Indian department, Raimbault and Dumai were orderd to accompany them—<sup>243</sup>

A Shawanese asked for Barblet Searsy This man had been taken prisoner by the Indians and carried to Detroit where he engaged with a Silver Smith & had a Dollar per day wages besides his board & lodging— after some time he took the oath of allegiance & enlisted with the Volunteers being an able active man and a very good marksman— on this occasion he deserted I shall have occasion to mention him hereafter—

*Egushewai* and Chamintawa offerd themselves to go to Kas-kasquias on a scout, The Peoria chief was present, who declared his intention to act in concert with his brethren being sensible the English alone were able to provide for the Indians, as he saw the Americans had not cloathing for themselves—

At 4 p.m. Mr. Adhamar the commissary of provisions, took up ten pirogues & set off for the Miamis for the stores and provisions which were lodged there—

Captain McLeod, Lts. DuVernet & St Cosme, and Mr. Jonathan Schieffelin a Volunteer—

The Wyndatts set out at the same time—

February 1st. The two Ottawa Chiefs Egushewai & Chamin-tawa with the Peoria chief came with 10 Warriors, designing to go to the falls of Ohio, & beggd to have Serjeants Robert and Sanscrainte of Captain La Mothe's Company to go with them—<sup>244</sup>

Eshkibee came soon after for his ammunition, & with him a Squaa name *Cataboe* who insisted on having a gun and going to War with them—

*Dawatong* and *Shayress* the Wyndatts who set off so lately, returned, saying they could not bear the thoughts of going home without seeing the Enemy, and desired they might join the Miamis who were going with the Ottawas—

A son of Pontiach the Ottawa chief, so remarkable among the Indians for the authority courage and influence in the last Indian war, was brought to me by Egushewai, with two other Ottawas of those who live at white river, these latter joined the party going to the falls of Ohio—

2d. Egushewai's party consisting of eight Ottawas, two Wyndatts, 2 Miamis and two Frenchmen, got their ammunition &c.

3d. The Chiefs determined that *Dawatong* should remain at St. Vincennes, & only *Shayress* go on the scouting party—

4th. Mr. Foucher a Canadian trader having lost at play last night 12000 livres, and having given notes of hand on his Brother and Co. at Montreal for the amount, as tho it had been employed in the way of trade, I called in his bill for Indian goods, and it was endorsed so as the Company could not be defrauded— A letter was also written to his brother acquainting him with the Transaction—

A young Ottawa Squaa who had been sold for a slave by her Brother to Joseph André a trader at St. Vincennes was purchased to be restored to her Nation—

5th. *Egusheway*, *Nicaquongay*, *Dawatong* and the *petite face* came to inform me they designed to send two young men express to the Miamis, with a message to the grande Coête and a string of white wampum from the Ottawas to *Ottawakie* and the Ottawas of the Miami's river, to shew the road to St. Vincennes, telling them that *Egusheway* lookd towards them and imagined they did the like towards him, that he did not mean to drag them,



but left them to come if they thought proper—

6th. This day the Workmen began upon the Blockhouse to be erected at the West Angle of the Fort

7th. *Captain McKee* with the *White fish* set out for the Shawanese towns, the former had letters for Detroit to be forwarded from thence——

The River Ouabache rose to a great heighth—

8th. Nothing extraordinary—

9th. The river swelled considerably——

The little salient Angle in the N.E. side of the Fort taken down, the Stockades made to range with that front, and lined—

10th. A Pirogue from the Illinois arrived, which had been 50 days on the way—

Two Canoes with Delawares from the Ohio— Took down the saillant angle in the S.E. face next the Church yard—

Two Canoes of Peankashaas came down from their wintering ground——

The river continues to rise considerably——

11th. William Williams who had been purchased from the Savages and was on his parole, deserted with Drury Bushe of C. La Mothes

Serjeant Magnian with 8 Men were sent down the river to take them—

Mr: F. Maisonville offered his service, and three Horsemen were sent to seek for their traces on the opposite shore as we judged they went off for Kaskasquias—

*Leepahkia* and *Napikiteeta* otherways the red Chief (*Peankashaas*) came to speak with me, expressed their thankfullness for my coming, and for the transaction relative to the sale of their lands— said they were not the only fools, that the French people had been parties in the busyness——

12th. Lieutenant Chabert, who had gone on horseback to trace the Deserters, returnd not having been able to make any discovery— reported the riviere aux embarras<sup>245</sup> overflowed, and the low Country entirely drowned—

13th. The Ouabache continues to rise—

14th. Search made at Henry's the armourer's for the Deserters, in vain——

15th. Captain Maisonville set out for Detroit, having desired leave—

The river continues rising—

Captain Helm told me a Virginian from the falls had desired to speak with him, but that he had refused and sent him off // This might have been so, but I had afterwards reason for thinking this report was made, in part to make a shew of plain dealing, but with more probability to draw attention to that Quarter from which it since appeared nothing was to be apprehended—// Captain Helm had been observed a little before William William's desertion, to have taken him apart, and to have read a paper to him, which with other circumstances, led us to think he had advised & directed his evasion——//

16th. Not to slight the above information, I sent off Isidore Chésne and Charles Reaume on horseback, by the road to the Falls to see if they could make out anything—

The White river rose very high, & from 250 Yards, its common breadth extended to a league—

The Ouabache also overflowed its banks, and many head of Cattle were lost by the low land being drowned—

17th. Nothing extraordinary—

18th. The Ouabache was risen so high as to back the Water of the little river, and prevent the Sawmill going— The river opposite the Fort being sounded, the depth was found to be 30 feet which in summer was but 10 in the same place—

The Country people who had gone out to relieve their Cattle exposed to the Violence of the flood in the meadows, brought several in from different distances, some from 20 miles off in their Pirogues— The Waters had risen the last year very high, but not within a foot of the present depth, when near 400 head of Cattle were lost— The South side of the river appears like a lake for two leagues below the fort——

The Weather is now so open that the Peach trees are in bloom and the Apple trees are in bud—

The N. W. Blockhouse was set up—

19th. the River falls a little—

20th. the River has fallen a foot—

21st. Rain which keeps up the river——

The Ottawas, Wyndatts, Delawares, Miamis, Ouiattanons, and Peankashaas assembled at the fort— Young *Tobacco* deliverd a scalp to an old Delaware, saying it had been a custom with their forefathers to make a division of any spoil to keep up a good intelligence between nation and nation— He then made a solemn address to the divine being, invoking his wrath, if what he said was not true, he then declared the sincerity of his intentions in taking his brethren by the hand, and declining any further intercourse with or dependence upon the Virginians—

*Egushewai* then rose up, and advised him to be cautious of what he advanced, and to remember well what promises he made in presence of so many persons— For his own particular, he spoke not only his own sentiments, but those of all the Lake Indians, and with a tone of Authority raising his Voice, desired the *Young Tobacco* might be cautious in future how he used his Tongue to call the Virginian his father, not to speak from the lips outward, but from the heart—

The manner in which this was deliverd, was considered by the Indians to convey a threat—

The Young Tobacco got up and said he was as yet but young and ignorant, but that having been very ill in his younger days, and on the point of dying, he had been baptized, and since that time had had too great a reverence for the divine being to advance a falsehood, persuaded that he should be punished by him on the spot, if he professed what was not true, and begg'd the Chiefs to believe he was perfectly sincere—

Just as he had finished, a Messenger came to inform them that the two Miamis and Huron, who set off the 3d. Instt. for the falls had returned with the scalp of a man whose rifle they brought in—

I desired the Chiefs might assemble next day at the Fort, as I had something to communicate worth their attention—

22d The Chiefs being assembled were told, that as I had been used hitherto to communicate to them whatever might regard them, I had now called them together to inform them, I had reason to believe there was or shortly would be a rupture between the Courts of Great Britain and France, but that as the war would probably but little affect us who were so far inland, I required

and expected they should behave to the French in this country, as to brothers and fellow Subjects, since tho' they had for a while taken part with the Rebels, they had on our arrival declared their sorrow for their fault, and had called upon the divine Being to witness their sincerity when they took a fresh oath to behave in future as dutyfull and faithfull subjects—

The Chiefs said they had hitherto listend to my advice, and they should continue so to do— They appeard a little struck at this news, tho' 'tis probable they had had intimation of it from the French, as I had heard of rejoycings having been made at the Illinois, & even at St. Vincennes on the accounts being received of the Alliance of France with the Americans—

//On the 5th. of December last when at Ouiattanon, I received a letter inclosing the Quebec Gazette of the 8th of October, given a relation of the Engagement between Keppel & D'Orville—/ /<sup>246</sup>

This day the N.W. Blockhouse was completed, except the hanging the Ports, which could not be done, the Ironwork not being yet finished— A three pounder mounted in it.

### *Clark Recaptures Vincennes, February 22 to March 5, 1779.*

At 3 o'Clock p.m. Mr: François Maisonville returned from the pursuit of the deserters, but could not overtake them or discover what route they had taken—

He reported that of 4 Virginians who were going down the Ohio, two had escaped, the other two he had brought with their papers, which not containing any thing essential were returned with some paper money The Names of these two persons were Lapsley and Shannon, the latter a provincial Captain— Mr: Maisonville then took me aside and told me he had on his return discovered 14 fires on the East side of the Ouabache, about four leagues below the fort, that he concluded they must be Virginians, but durst not expose himself to being taken by going near enough to count them—

I immediately orderd out Captain La Mothe with his Lieutt.



Schieffelin Serjeant Baron with 14 Men of the Volunteers and six men of the King's Regiment who turnd out volunteers to go and reconnoitre where and who these people might be— Mr. Maisonville offered himself as a guide. [This last sentence is in the margin.]

I made no doubt of their being enemies, so immediately orderd ammunition to be deliverd for the blockhouses, set up scaffolding for small arms in the N. and South angles of the fort, orderd the Militia under arms, the absentees to be directly reported— Captain Helm and the prisoners on parole into the fort— Some Indian corn and Rum lately purchased were also brought in—

Bosseron one of the Captains of Militia did not make his appearance 'till  $\frac{1}{4}$  before Sunset when the Fort gate was shut— He made many professions of Loyalty and sincerity— how much to be depended on will appear shortly—

Roll calling was just over, when we were surprized by the firing of small arms, this I attributed to some drunken frolic of the inhabitants, but going upon the parade heard the balls sing, still I could not conceive otherways than that some drunken people were amusing themselves—

Shortly after Serjeant Chapman of the King's regiment was reported to be mortally wounded, but it proved only a contusion, a metal button having saved his life, a shot from a rifled piece having struck him opposite the pit of the Stomach— The men had been orderd before this to stand to their arms, they were now sent to occupy the Blockhouses and platforms, with orders not to fire till they could be at a certainty of doing it to purpose, and to be very managing of their ammunition—

It was now near dark and the fire increasing we were not at a loss to conclude our opponents were those whose fires had been discovrd, in course as three sides of the fort were fired upon, we despaired of our reconnoirring party being able to return to us— The firing continued all night on both sides, but without any effect from us the Enemy having the cover of the Church, the Churchyard fence, Houses, Barns, all within muskett shot. we dislodged those at the Church by a few discharges of a 3 lbr from the Blockhouse, but had little chance of doing any execution

against riflemen under cover— It was very practicable to have burned the Village but there were too many reasons against it which I shall take occasion to mention—

The situation of the fort had no one advantage but its neighbourhood to the river—

Our Surgeon who had been in the Village when the firing began finding the fort invested made a push for the gate & narrowly escaped having several shot fired at him one of Which went thro' his legging— He told us that when the first shots were fired the Woman at whose house he was cried out, there is Colonel Clarke is arrived from the Illinois with 500 men—

We had 1 Serjt. one Matross & 2 men wounded which were brought into the officers quarters, not being able to bear the cold of the night for we were obliged to put out the fires in the huts, as the light gave advantage to the riflemen who could see men pass in the fort, & the picketting not being all lined we were much exposed— We worked hard to remedy this defect with what spare picketts and plank we had—

About 4 o'Clock in the morning the fire slackend, and a little before Sunrise I lay down when some one came in and told me they were scaling the Stockades, running out hastily and expecting to find the Enemy attempting to get over the stockades was agreeably surprized to find Captain La Mothe's party had made a fortunate push, and did actually get over with their arms in their hands, tho the picketts were perpendicular and eleven feet high—

The account given by them of what passed the preceding night was, that the waters being out they were obliged to take a circuit by the heights, lost their way and hearing Guns fired at the fort returned and found it invested, that they concealed themselves in a large barn, where they could see the rebel patroles pass within 20 yards of them, that one of La Mothe's men (jervais) deserted them before they got to the barn, another (Roy) in the night, that on perceiving the fire slacken towards day they had waited till the coast was clear and then succeeded undiscovered in getting to the fort—

Mr: Maisonville who had gone to Montbrun's house (his own Cousin's) to get intelligence, was betrayed by him and de-

liverd up to Colonel Clarke, who the next morning treated him as shall be mentioned in its place—

23d. The firing recommenced on both sides after sunrise, we cleared the houses next the fort by a few cannon shot from the Blockhouses, but this did not prevent our having two men Wounded thro the loopholes, and one walking across the parade— This last was one of La Mothe's, and I could not find that those of his company had acted with spirit from the first. on the contrary the men of the Kings regiment behaved with the greatest alacrity, and even exposed themselves more than I wished—

At Eleven this morning one of the Captains of Militia of St. Vincennes advanced towards the fort gate, with a flag of truce and being admitted deliverd me a letter from Colonel Clarke which was expressed in the following terms—

St. Vincennes Feby. 23d.

Sir

I expect you shall immediately surrender yourself with your Garrison prisoners at discretion— If any of the stores be destroyed or any letters or papers burned, you may expect no mercy, for by Heavens you shall be treated as a murtherer—

I am Sir your humble servant

Lt. Govr. Hamilton

George Rogers Clarke—

The following answer was returnd—

Lieutenant Governor Hamilton acquaints Colonel Clarke, that neither he or his garrison are to be prevailed on by threats to act in a manner unbecoming the character of British Subjects.

Fort Sackville 23d. Feby. 1779<sup>247</sup>

Having called the Officers together I read them Colol Clarke's letter, with the answer, and told them I was determind if they and the Men were of my mind to hold out to the last, rather than to trust to, or accept Colonel Clarkes proposition—

They all declared themselves willing to second me—

The men were then assembled on the Parade, when I read the letter and answer in English and french, telling them it was

the determination of the Officers, as well as my own to defend the Kings colours to the last extremity rather than yield to such ignominious terms—

The English to a man declared they would stand to the last for the honor of their Country, and as they expressed it, would stick to me as the shirt to my back—

Then they cried God Save King George, and gave three Huzzas—

The French hung their heads, and their Serjeants first turned round and muttered with their men, some said it was hard they should fight against their own Friends and relations who they could see had joined the Americans and fired against the Fort—

This was indeed fact, for as I found afterwards Bosseron had secreted powder with which he had supplied Colonel Clarke on his arrival, and made an offer of his services with 75 men of the Militia of St. Vincennes—<sup>248</sup>

Finding one half of my little Garrison thus indisposed, and that with so small a number as were well affected it would be absurd to think of holding out, that to retain the French was to depend on traitors, and to turn them out must give additional confidence to our Enemies. I determined from that moment to accept honorable terms if I could procure them, I first consulted with the Officers and then communicated to the English the necessity of a surrender, assuring them at the same time that no consideration whatever should induce me to accept any but honorable terms—

They seemed very unwilling to listen to anything of the Kind, but as it was obvious we were not in a condition to make any essential resistance, that we were 600 miles distant from any relief, that duty must fall too heavy on our small numbers now reduced one half by the treachery or cowardice or both of our canadian volunteers, that we had already a fifth of our trusty Englishmen wounded, and wretched accommodations for them, they agreed to act as I judged best—

The men having had no rest the preceding night I divided the Garrison into two watches, & sent one watch to rest—

In the meantime the following transactions passed in the Village—



Mr Francis Maisonville who I had mentioned was betrayed to Colol. Clarke, being questioned by him if he had been out with the Indians, answered in the affirmative, upon which the Colonel ordered him to be placed in a chair, and one of Clarkes men was told to take off his scalp, which probably was meant only in terrorism, however this poor man who had a great deal of firmness told the Colol. he was at his mercy and he might do his pleasure.

The executor of the Colonel's pleasure hesitating to act as he was desired, was called to with an imprecation to do as he was ordered, on which he raised two pieces of the Skin of the size of a sixpence, just then one of his brothers who had come from the Illinois with Colol. Clarke stepped up and interceded for him on which he was set at liberty—

About two in the afternoon the party of Indians which had gone towards the falls of Ohio returned, and advancing over the common to the fort, seeing the English flag flying and not knowing that we were attacked, discharged their pieces— tis usual with them to fire three volleys on their approach to a fort or a town, as a salute, this is practiced also among themselves—

This party was in all but 15 or 16 men, of whom were the two serjeants of Volunteers—

Colol. Clarke being informed of their arrival, sent off 70 men to attack them, who fired on these people unprepared for such a salute, killed one wounded two and made 5 of the rest prisoners taking them to the Village—

On their arrival, they were placed in the street opposite the Fort Gate, where these poor wretches were to be sacrificed— one of them a young Indian about 18 Years of age the son of Pontiac, was saved at the intercession of one Macarty a Captain of Colol. Clarkes Banditti, who said he was formerly owed his life to the Indian's father—

One of the others was tomahawked either by Clarke or one of his Officers, the other three foreseeing their fate, began to sing their Death song, and were butchered in succession, tho at the very time a flag of Truce was hanging out at the fort and the firing had ceased on both sides— A young chief of the Ottawa nation called *Macutté Mong* one of these last, having received the fatal

stroke of a Tomahawk in the head, took it out and gave it again into the hands of his executioner who repeated the Stroke a second and third time, after which the miserable being, not entirely deprived of life was dragged to the river, and thrown in with the rope about his neck where he ended his life and tortures— This horrid scene was transacted in the open Street, and before the door of a house where I afterward was quartered, the master of which related to me the above particulars— The Blood of the victims was still visible for days afterwards, a testimony of the courage and Humanity of Colonel Clarke—

When the prisoners were brought in, Bosseron the Villain already mentioned, levelld his piece at Serjeant Sanscrainte, whose father (who had come with Clarke from the Illinois) at that instant stepping up raised the muzzle and obtained his son's life by applying to Colol. Clarke—

Serjeant Robert was saved by his sister's interceding— The flag of truce had been hung out on the occasion of my sending a messenger to Colol. Clarke that, I would treat with him about the surrender of the Fort on honorable terms if he would come to a parly, & that I would talk with him on the Subject in the Fort, passing my word for his security— he sent word he would talk with me on the parade— we were each to bring a person to be present at our interview—

In consequence I met him on the parade outside the Fort, he had just come from his Indian tryumph all bloody and sweating— seated himself on the edge of one of the batteaus, that had some rainwater in it, & while he washed his hands and face still reeking from the human sacrifice in which he had acted as chief priest, he told me with great exultation how he had been employed— The Soldiers in the fort having some suspicion of treachery were got into the Blockhouse next us with their pieces loaded and kept a watchfull eye on us during our conversation— The Colonel proceeded to tell me that it was in vain to think of persisting in the defence of the fort, that his cannon would be up in a few hours, that he knew to a man who of my people I could depend upon, with every other circumstance of my situation, and that if from a spirit of obstinacy I perseverd while there was no prospect of re-

lief, and should stand an assault, that not a single man should be spared—

I replied that tho my numbers were small I could depend on them, he said he knew the reverse, that there were but 35 or 36 that were really staunch & that I could depend on, and that 'twas folly to think of making a defence against such unequal numbers— That if I surrenderd at discretion and trusted to his generosity, I should have better treatment than if I 'articled for terms. My answer was, Then Sir I shall abide the consequences, for I never will take a step so disgracefull and unprecedented while I have ammunition and provision—

You will (said he) be answerable for the lives lost by your obstinacy— I said my men had declared they would die with arms in their hands rather than surrender at discretion— The officer who was with him said he wished we should come to some composition rather than that blood should be spilt— I said that I would accept such terms as should consist with my honor and duty— that as I knew what I might pretend to, it would take but little time to draw up articles— he said he would think upon it and return in half an hour— he returned accordingly with Captain Bowman one of his Officers, and I met him with Major Hay— We resumed our conversation, he seemed as determined as before, I then said further discourse was vain I would return to the fort, and to prevent mistakes the firing should not recommence, till an hour after our parting, that each side might be prepared, I then gave him my hand saying we might part as gentlemen tho not as friends— I had gone but a little way when Hajor Hay and Captain Bowman called me back, the subject was resumed, and Colonel Clarke agreed to my sending terms which he should assent to or reject, according as he should find their tenor— They were sent that same evening, C. Clarke made his answer, and I agreed to the conditions, having first assembled the Officers and exposed to them the necessity of the step—

The Men were next called together and I convinced them that the King's service could not derive any advantage from our holding out— some reasons already touched upon were given them in which they acquiesced, some not mentioned in the capi-

tulation I shall here take notice of. Viz! The Stockades had originally been so ill set up, that a man might pass his closed fist between several of them, which gave a great advantage to people armed with rifles— The Fort was nearly surrounded by houses or other buildings which as the inhabitants had renewed their allegiance we could not consistently destroy— The N.E. Angle of of the fort projected over the sandy bank of the river, & could have been undermined by the assailants under cover— I knew the enemy must shortly have their Cannon up, having heard the report of one while in conference with Clarke, & tho' I knew he could have but the three pounders which had belonged to Fort Chartres, their coming up would have given him such a confidence that we might be driven to accept any terms he might exact—

The poltronnerie and treachery of our french Volunteers who made half our number, with the certainty of the St. Vincennes men having joined Colol. Clarke, and the miserable state of our wounded men, all conspired to make me adopt the disagreeable terms of capitulation which are refered to No.

Before the capitulation was signed I had consulted with Major Hay on the practicability of getting off to the settlement of the Natchez on the Mississipi, where we knew we had friends, and where our number tho slender, would have been of some service— we had in the fort two staunch pittyaugers in which the salted Buffalo had been kept during the winter we had oars and paddles sufficient, and thought it practicable to raise some of the Stockades silently and launch the boats undiscovered by the Enemy, but the treachery of our inmates and the necessity of leaving our wounded men behind made us relinquish this scheme which at first view had flatter'd us with an appearance of faisability—

The greater part of the night I passed in sorting papers and preparing for the disagreeable ceremony of the coming day—

The mortification, disappointment and indignation I felt, may possibly be conceived if all the considerations are taken together which suggested themselves in turn— Our views of prosecuting any design against the enemy totally overturned— The being captives to an unprincipled motley Banditti, and the being



betrayed and sacrificed by those very people who owed the preservation of their lives and property to us, and who had so lately at the foot of the altar called God to witness their sincerity and loyalty—

24th— This morning Captain Helm came to me at 7 o'Clock and gave me to understand that Colonel Clarke had been informed that we had been hard at work all night in the Fort fixing powder chests underground, that the 6 Pr. was to be loaded with grape and planted opposite the Fort gate, that whenever the enemy entered to take possession it was to be fired by a train, & the chests were to be sprung by a match— I imputed this report to the machinations of the french but assured him I was incapable of so villainous a scheme— he said he had told C. Clarke as much—

Another attempt of the inhabitants to induce the rebels to treat us with the utmost severity and even cruelty was the following— A paper was presented to Colonel Clarke in which it was asserted that during our stay at St. Vincennes we had treated them in the harshest and most unjust manner, but what was judged could not fail of raising the fury and indignation of the rebels to the highest pitch, was the infamous falsehood of this paper with respect to William Williams the prisoner, who it was declared had been stripped naked, dragged thro' the streets by the hair & kicked & buffeted by the English Officers after which he was tyed to a stake and threatned to be burned alive if he did not consent to marry an Indian Woman— This paper was signed by two of the principal inhabitants, with a view no doubt of stirring up the rebels to a severe retaliation—

At ten o'Clock we marched out with fixed Bayonettes and our Knapsacks, the terms of capitulation with other papers may be seen at the end of this Diary—<sup>249</sup>

Tho one of the propositions made to Colol. Clarke before he took possession, was that the stores should be deliverd up by an inventory he neglected it—

The Colors were not hoisted this morning that we might be spared the mortification of hawling them down but the Rebels had them presently hoisted with their 13 Stripes over them—

Haec memiri, & victum frustra contendere Thyrsia—

Immediately after the Americans had taken possession, they fired a salute of 13 rounds from the 6 pounder in one of the Blockhouses, but by some carelessness, a cask of cannon cartridges took fire, and blew up Captains Bowman and Widdrington of the Americans with two others of their men, and a Soldier of the King's one of our additional gunners who tho scorched and most of his skin blown from his face and arms and nearly blinded was tolerably recovered before we left Post Vincennes, being a very brave hardy fellow and suffering great torment with uncommon fortitude—<sup>250</sup>

The force of the explosion displaced the log work an inch & half tho' mortaised, and threw a frenchman over the wall into the street— he fell at least 10 feet but lighting on his feet unhurt, he ran to his Officer & boasted of his alertness

Le Gras and Bosseron had the curiosity to come to the fort to see as they said quelle countenance tiendrait Mons. le Gouverneur<sup>251</sup> These persons who had set an example to the wretches of the place of perjury and treason, forgot that they were indebted to me for not only the preservation of their properties, but of their lives—

In the afternoon Colonel Clarke and his Officers (so called) being assembled in the little room in the fort, He asked of me who were the persons under my orders who had been employed with the Indians, I told him they were present & would answer for themselves, which they having done, the Colol. orderd one of his Officers to go for the smith & direct him to make irons for them all, which should confine the neck hands and feet—

I was exceedingly shocked at this speech, and desired Colol. C. to walk out of the room, when I desired him to explain what I was to understand by the order he had just given— he said he had taken a solemn resolution to make examples of all who had acted with the Indians without exception—

I said whatever were his resolutions, he must remember that he had just put his hand to a capitulation by which we were or ought to be secured from any act of violence—

He said he had taken an oath & was fixed in his resolution— I replied that if he was capable of acting in that manner, he must renounce all pretentions to the character of an Officer

or a gentleman— He smiled contemptuously, but I observed that it was not a matter to trifle upon, that these Gentlemen had done no other than their duty in obeying the orders I had given them, that I stood responsible for their actions, and since my situation had reduced me so low as to ask a favor of him, I must request he would put me in irons rather than them— he paid as little attention to this— I remarked that his behaviour was unaccountable, to act in such a manner and at the same time permit me to carry a loaded pistol in my girdle— He broke off abruptly, & returning to his Company, ordered Mr. Chabert, Reaume, La Mothe and Maisonville to be put prisoners—

This day the scalps of the poor murdered Indians were hung up just at our tent doors, pour nous encourager—

25th This day one Rimbault<sup>252</sup> a young man who had served as a volunteer with the Indians was brought into the fort with a rope about his neck and his Judges were in the act of hanging him, when some of the French from the Illinois interposed and he was taken down from the tree half strangled—

Each instance of substantial Justice gave me no pleasing prospect of what we might expect further from such Picaros—

Colonel Clarke told me this day, that if Charles Baubin & Hypolite Baulon (who accompanied the Indians on the scout to Kaskaskias, & had carried my letters) had done their duty that he with 4 of his Officers, should have been my prisoners but that I had been betrayed—<sup>253</sup> //By this account, the reason became sufficiently apparent why some of the gentry who went off to Detroit, were so ingenious in framing excuses—// The party of Indians had placed themselves in ambuscade, on the road between Kaskaskias, & Cahokia & must effectually have secured Colonel Clarke and his Officers—

Colol. Clarke told me also some particulars of his march which were very extraordinary— He had left the Illinois when the Waters were out & had marched for 15 days successively, his people being exposed all that time to the inconveniencies of marching thro a flooded Country— They set out without provision trusting entirely to the Buffaloe or other game they might chance to fall in with on their route— The greater part of his people were half naked— His powder was all damaged before

he arrived at St. Vincennes— a nights frost must have destroyed his whole party—

Colonel Clarke's having succeeded under such circumstances illustrates the following remark made by some author whose name I do not recollect // "A Sanguine temper forsees few difficulties and sometimes owes success to a fortunate rashness which is esteemed by shortsighted people as taking Fortune in the willing mood—tis true Fortune favors the bold, but the rash have no pretensions to her favor—" //

As we sat together this Evening the Colonel giving a loose to his military ardor said that he expected shortly to see the whole race of Indians extirpated, that for his part he would never spare Man woman or child of them on whom he could lay his hands— I represented to him the Indians having so far foregone their usual habits as to have saved the lives of several of their captives and desired him to enquire of Henry the Armourer who had been at Detroit and been witness to the treatment of Prisoners, which when the Colonel had done and received such answers as were indeed consistent with truth, Clarke turned to me and said Sir I find I have been mistaken in your character & facts have been grosly misrepresented— On his renewing his threats against the Indians, I warned him against exasperating a people who were so capable of ravaging the frontiers, & being renderd implacable by severities, at the same time I quoted Mr: Gay, as authority for humanity being the proper companion to true courage "Cowards are cruel, but the brave" he appeard rather checkd "love mercy, and delight to save" and mortified—

26th— Captain Helm was sent up the river with a detachment to intercept the convoy from Miamis with provision &ca. Le Gras and Bosseron offerd their services and went, as did young Chapoton, whose father was a Captain of Militia at Detroit—

Among Colonel Clarke's followers were, Charleville a young man from the Illinois whose father was one of the most considerable of the Inhabitants there— McCarty— Bowman brother to Colol. Bowman at Harrodsburgh who lent me a horse for my journey thro the Country, and went to Williamsburgh to represent to the Govr. and Council, the injustice and severity of their



proceedings— Widdrington— Williams— these 5 were captains, Brown, Bayley, Giraud, Rogers, Lieutenants— Lavoine[,] Montgomery, Chaplin Ensigns— Daniel Murray Commissary of Stores, a fellow who haunted us after our surrender, & by flattery and cunning attempted to get into our confidence— Kennedy, commissary of provisions, a vagrant who plyed the prisoners with liquor to get them to enlist with the rebels— Maisenville brother to Alexis & François— Sills the son of the Innholder at Trois rivières— Two brothers of the name of Antayas—

The manage of the French inhabitants at the Illinois as related to me by Colol. Clarke is not to be forgot—

On the first report of my arrival, they expected to be attacked at Kaskaskias on which the young men went to Colonel Clarke and offered their service to bear arms, at the same time their Fathers Uncles & told him they had sworn allegiance to the English government at the time of the surrender of Canada & could not consistently with their oath bear arms against the English, but that they should not act in any manner against the Americans— Thus mediators were to intercede for their friends and relations which ever side got the advantage—

I have reason to think that Lang—e and Gaut—r were either false to their trust, or imposed on, from the accounts I had afterwards from Monsr. de Li—ot, which I had no reason to disbelieve— else a diversion from Michillimackinac might have kept the Rebels at Caskaskias till reinforcements in the Spring should have enabled me to have cleared the Country of them—<sup>254</sup>

I applied to Colol. Clarke several times for naming the day of our departure that I might have [*sic*] biscuit baked for the March in vain—

Two of his men acquainted some of the soldiers who informed me of it, to be on my guard as there was a design of shooting me thro' the head formed by some of the rebel gentry, but I thought best not to appear to credit it, however twice in the night I was alarmed by two drunken men who took their pieces & were advancing to the tent where Major Hay and I slept in the fort, but providentially one of us was awake each time and alarmed the other— we complained of this to Colol. Clarke who said he would make enquiry, but it did not appear any one

was punished, tho our report was confirmed—

One of these men accompanied us when we were sent off, but the poor creature was afterwards very inoffensive, and was one of those sometime after wounded by a party of Indians who killed William Moyres, Colol. Clarke's express, & carried some of his comrades prisoners to Detroit—<sup>255</sup>

March 5th. The Party under Captain Helm returnd having got possession of the convoi of Provisions from the Miamis—

To my great surprize I saw Mr. Philip Dejean who had acted as Justice of peace at Detroit who was taken prisoner with a packett of letters for me,<sup>256</sup> which he had not the presence of mind to destroy tho the day before he had had information of St. Vincennes being in the hands of the Rebels— with this convoy came cloathing and private Stores for myself and the other officers, every article of which Colol. C. made prize of never offering us the smallest part, not even asking us to drink a glass of our own wines—

Before our setting off I found that some of the Soldiers and even others of whom I had conceived a better opinion, had made their terms with Colol. Clarke without saying anything to me, & even did not come to take leave when we set off. CC. L. &ca—— Joseph l' Italien behaved better than most, tho' I had entertained but an indifferent opinion of him whilst at Detroit——

I was shown about this time those articles of the treaty of alliance between France and America that the Congress thought proper to have printed and dispersed, these were sent to C. Clarke by the Governor of Virginia together with a commission authorizing him to act as commanding officer of the Eastern Illinois—

Colonel Clarke told me we were to go by water to the falls of Ohio, and thence by land to Williamsburgh, that he should send fifteen horses to the falls for our convenience— this however was forgot— We immediately procured what shoes & Moccasins we could for our men, and as we were to have a troublesome march thro the woods and over mountains, we disposed of several things to the Colonel and his officers, expecting that our wounded men and such as he chose should remain would be well treated on this account, but we were not long of this way of thinking for the provision allotted us for our Journey to the falls of Ohio

was 10 days rations of Flour and salt pork, with 14 gallons of Rum, for our whole party being 50 in the whole, 27 being the number of the Garrison which Colol. Clarke sent off, and 23 the number of our guard, including two Officers, Captain Williams & Lt. Rogers, who both behaved very civilly all the way & as kindly as they durst——<sup>257</sup>

I was very impatient to leave this detestable place, where every object reminded me of the baseness treachery or ingratitude of the inhabitants—

*A Prisoner of War,  
March 8 to June 16, 1779.*

8th. The Oak Boat in which we had brought a Brass six with ammunition &c. was allotted to us, we had rowed her with 14 Oars, but they concluded such stout fellows as we, could row her against the current of the Ohio with 7— so at length on the 8th March we took leave of our poor fellow Soldiers who had tears in their eyes some of the wounded got to the water side to bid us farewell, and Colonel Clarke who generosity should not pass unnoticed when he had seen our Pork and flour embarked, and we were ready to push off asked us aloud if we wanted anything— We fell down the stream and encamped three leagues below white River, the current very swift—

9th. continued our route & encamped at l'hyvernement de Bonepart, at this place the little attention of our guard was such as to give some among us an idea of seizing their arms in the night and getting down to the Natchez, but we were checked by thinking what would be the fate of those we left behind—

10th. As we approached the Ohio we conceived that river to be amazingly raised as the waters of the Ouabache were backed for at least three miles before we reached the mouth— At half past three in the afternoon we got into the Ohio, & rowed up the stream 9 miles— By the driftwood lodged in the trees we perceived the waters had been 12 feet higher than at present, tho' now 18 feet above the steep banks of Ohio— There was no sight of land, and as far as the sight could extend a violent current swept thro' the wood, so night coming on we made our boat fast

to a tree, and lay as well as we could contrive which was not very conveniently as it rained most part of the night, and our Tarpaulin was rather scanty— our bodies were miserably cramped being so crowded, & one of our party lay in a blanketty tied in form of a hammaque one end to a bough of a tree, the other to the boats mast—

11, 12, 13th. rowed up against stream & encamped, tho ill at our ease everything being wet and the ground little better than a swamp

14th we set off and not having got terra firma we lay again in our boat a little above green river—<sup>258</sup>

15th. fair wind, got about 30 miles against stream & encamped

16th. The current exceeding strong, we worked hard & could make but 9 miles all day— encamped—

17th. Our work had made us so keen, & the weather being still very cold it will not appear surprizing that this day our provision was entirely expended— Our Guardians sent out some hunters to procure us Buffaloe, in which they succeeded—

18, 19, 20th. nothing remarkable happend— we were a good deal impeded by the large rafts of driftwood, brought down by this extraordinary flood which was occasioned by a general thaw of the Snow in the upper country accompanied with a heavy rain— We are told that the banks of the Ohio are subject to inundations from its conflux with the Mississippi to the distance of 300 miles upwards, so that the settling of that country is not likely to take place in many centuries—

21st. Rain— 22d. no. ex—<sup>259</sup> 23d Snow, lay by— 24th. passed the Islands—

25th. contrary wind we could advance but 7 miles—

26th. nothing extra—

27th. I landed with Major Hay and Mr. Bellefeuille on the east side of the river to get a view of the ravages occasioned by a Whirlwind or Hurricane— We had some difficulty in scrambling to the top of the cliff, great craggs and large trees tumbled together in confusion obliging us sometimes to creep and sometimes to climb— when we got to the top we saw the progress of this vein of wind which was in a straight line across the River,



and thro the wood which was mowed down at about 20 or 25 feet from the ground, the vista open'd being as regular as if laid down by a line—

28th. rain—

29th. Captain Harrod the officer commanding the fort and settlement at the falls came down in a boat of 18 oars, shortly after which we encamped a little above salt River—<sup>260</sup>

30th. We proceeded with our new guide to the falls— the River at the falls may be about 800 yards across and divided in the middle by an Island on which there had been a fort, which was at that time deserted from the uncommon rise of the waters, which the people here told us had been above 40 feet higher than the usual level—

We were put into a log house, and received the compliments of the people on our arrival, expressed by discharging their pieces almost all day long, this joy of theirs at our capture made us recollect what C.C.<sup>261</sup> had told us, that we should run the risk of our lives in passing the Frontier—

31st. We procured some bread for our ensuing march, for the baking of which I was obliged to give the lady baker my quilt— as to provision, our hunters were to find it on the route if they could—

Two horses were all that we could get to hire so we prepared to set off the next day, not in the best humor imaginable—

The people here had not got intelligence of our having taken Fort Sackville, till the day before we were brought Prisoners to the falls, so well had the Indian parties scoured the country—

April 1st. We set off from the falls about 11 a. m. without a single days provision furnished by our captors, two horses were with difficulty procured for hire, so that we were obliged to carry our packs, which indeed were not very heavy, A Bearskin and blankett being the common burthen, *I* the Chief, had a small portmanteau and a box of folio size (*that is* this folio) in which I carried a few papers— Those of any moment (thinking I might be searched unexpectedly) I had kept copies of, and carried in an inner pockett of my waistcoat— we got some bread baked & purchased a small quantity of Indian corn of the settlers at the

falls— set off about 11 o'Clock a m. marched 10 miles—

2d. 12 miles— 3d. 15 miles— rain— a hilly road—

4th. hilly road rain 20 miles.

5th. Had a very fatiguing march, our guides lost themselves and misled us. One of our hunters killed a she bear about 3 years old, very fat, which was a great resource as we had not a morsel of flesh among us all at setting out— This Creature must have just quitted her winter habitation for tho so fat, she had nothing in her Stomach, or intestines— We got 30 miles this day—

6th. We fell into the path of the Shawanese warriors, which they use to go against the Cherakees— The country pleasant, the verdure very luxuriant, passed some log houses which appeared to have been lately deserted, the enclosures being in good repair— A great relief to us was the frequency of plentyfull springs of fine water breaking thro a limestone— Two horses were sent from Harrodsburgh to assist in carrying the baggage— We reached that place about dusk having marched 25 miles— It is called a fort and consists of about 20 houses, forming an irregular square with a very copious spring within its enclosure—<sup>262</sup>

At the time of our arrival, they were in hourly apprehension of attacks from the Savages, and no doubt these poor inhabitants are worthy of pity—

Their cattle were brought into the fort every night Horses as well as Cows— They dared not go for firewood or to plow without their arms, yet in spite of this state of constant alarm a considerable quantity of land had been cleared, and as their numbers are increasing fast, they will soon set the Savages at defiance, being good marksmen and well practiced in the Woods— A Water mill had been built on a branch of Salt river which runs by the fort, but the frequent inroads of the Indians had rendered it useless, and they subsisted by the use of 2 handmills—

On my taking a survey of this place, I recollected perfectly the plan, of it given me by a Savage who had been there with a party and had been on the point of being taken by a well laid plan of the Officer at this post who knowing where the Savages were, sent out two or three men with Scythes as if to mow, who drew the attention of the Savages, while a Party sent by a circuit into their rear thro the woods, unexpectedly fired on them killed

some on the Spot & put the rest to shifting for themselves—

Our diet here was indian corn and milk for breakfast & supper, Indian bread and Bears flesh for dinner, yet we were healthy & strong

We were delayed here much against our will thinking we held our lives by a very precarious tenure, for the people on our first coming looked upon us as little better than savages, which was very excusable considering how we had been represented, and besides that they had suffered very severely from the inroads of those people— One Man in particular had last year lost his son, and had had four score of his horses & mares carried off, yet this man was reconciled upon hearing a true state of facts, and Colonel Bowman acted as a person above prejudice, by rendering us every service in his power—

11th. William Moyres, Colonel Clarke's messenger with letters to the Govr. of Virginia, was killed on the road from the falls to this place the letters and prisoners as we supposed carried off to Detroit—<sup>263</sup>

17th. Colol. Bowman having sent to Logan's fort for horses, they arrivd this day. He was so obliging as to let me have one of his own—<sup>264</sup>

19th. We set out for Logan's fort 20 miles distant, where we arrived at 7 p m. tis an oblong square formed by the houses making a double street, at the angles were stockaded bastions—the situation is romantic, among wooded hills, a stream of fine water passes at the foot of these hills which turns a small grist mill— They had been frequently alarmed & harrassed by the Indians, Captain Logan the person commanding here had had his arm broken by a buckshot in a skirmish with them, & was not yet recoverd— the people here were not exceedingly well disposed to us, & we were accosted by the females especially in pretty coarse terms— but the Captain and his wife, who had a brother carried off by the Indians were very civil and hospitable—<sup>265</sup>

20th. We marched to Whitley's fort 7 miles distant where we made a halt and where a small ox was purchased for our subsistence, which with 3 bags of Indian corn, one of Indian meal

and some dried meat was to serve 50 of us for 14 days, in which time we expected to reach some habitations—<sup>266</sup>

This little post is often visited and much infested by the Savages—

21st. Set forward on an Indian path, & forded Craggs creek forty times—<sup>267</sup> the difficulty of marching thro' such a country as this is not readily imagined by a European— The Canes grow very close together to the heighth of 25 feet and from the thickness of a quill to that of ones wrist, as they are very strong and supple the rider must be constantly on the watch to guard his face from them as they fly back with great force, the leaves and the young shoots are a fodder horses are exceedingly fond of and are eternally turning to the right & left to take a bite— The soil where they grow is rich and deep, so you plod thro in a narrow track like a Cowpath, while the musketoes are not idle— the steep ascents & descents with rugged stony ways varied with Swamps and clayey grounds completely jaded horses and riders— we began to cross the blue Mountains this day—

22d. Very bad swampy road or way rather— at 10 a.m. passed a small river called rock Castle branch which falls into Cumberland river—<sup>268</sup> The scene is very beautifull the trees being in high beauty, the water bright, the weather clear, so that tho in no pleasant circumstances otherways I could not but enjoy this romantic prospect of which I took a hasty sketch while our poor fatigued packhorses were towed thro' the rapid stream by their wearyed hungry leaders— we encamped about 7 p.m. when we were joined by a Colonel Callaway<sup>269</sup> who took upon him the charge of the prisoners and their escort hitherto commanded by Captn' Harrod— The Colol. made new arrangements, new dispositions, talked of Grand division manoeuvres, and made a great display of military abilities, posting a number of sentries, & fatiguing our poor Devils of frontiers [men] who would willingly have trusted their prisoners in this desert, not one of whom could have made use of his liberty, without Guides, provision and shoes being found them— It rained all night, which did not set our disciplinarian in a favorable light—

23d. St. Georges— We were very hearty in our wishes for the honor and success of the Patrons countrymen, and tho the



water was very good, did not exceed the bounds of moderation in our potations—

The road was exceedingly difficult, lying over very steep hills which from last nights rain were so slippery, our wretched cattle had much ado to scramble up and slide down—

24th. forded stinking creek, and some others— at 4 p.m. passed the great War path of the Shawanese,<sup>270</sup> which at this place crosses a remarkable Buffaloe salt lick— several of the trees here bear the marks of the exploits of the Savages, who have certain figures and Characters by which they can express their numbers, their route, what prisoners they have made, how many killed &c— they commonly raise the bark & with their Tomahawks & knives carve first and then with vermilion color their design—

25 Forded Cumberland or Shawanese river, which is about 200 yards over—

26th. passed Cumberland Mountain, entered Powel's valley—<sup>271</sup> Provision being expended we killed a Cow from a herd probably left here by some Sellers, who were probably intercepted on their March, & killed by the Indians—

27th. Came to a very pretty halting place called the Spring cave, otherways rocky bridge a curious romantic work of Nature— A very copious Stream of fine water breaks out of the Ground in a beauty full valley well cloathed with clover, skirted with rising grounds ornamented with variety of timber trees, evergreens & Shrubs— at about 150 yards from its source it passes under a rocky ledge which serves for a bridge being about 60 feet wide at top and covered with trees— The road passes over the natural Bridge, which is hollowed into several arched cavities, some of a considerable dimension. This pretty stream and cheerfull scene would have engaged me a considerable time but I had no allowance and just took two slight sketches on Cards—

In the Evening we arrived fatigued & wet thro', and encamped near Chrisman Creek— it poured rain so hard that we could scarce make a fire— I went to see the cave from which the Creek (as 'tis improperly called) issues, it is arched over naturally and the coving is really very smooth and even, a tall man may stand upright in it and walk about 70 yards, a breach

in the top letting in light sufficient, I thought it singular enough to take a view of it—<sup>272</sup>

28th. Our horses straggled to a great distance among the canes, and tho they were hopped, and had Bells, we could not collect them before 12 o'Clock— crossed Powell's Mountain—<sup>273</sup> halted at Scots improvement—

29th. Crossed the north branch of Clinch river, forded stock creek 6 times, forded Clinch river with great difficulty, some of the men were near being drown'd, it fell sleet and hail with an exceeding sharp wind— a very small canoe took over some of us, after making a fire & getting well warmed we proceeded on our march thro' cane brakes, the ways crooked steep & miry— I felt the gout flying about me and as it would have been dreadfull to have him fix while in such a country, I dismounted & walked the whole day in Moccassins which dissipated the humor and enabled me to keep up—

30th. Forded Moccassin and leather creeks several times also the north branch of Holston river,<sup>274</sup> which being very rapid, I did not chose to trust my horse and rather than attempt it had a raft made & was ferryed over by two who could swim the raft being only large enough for one—

May 1st. Pass Mocassin gap, a pass thro' the Mountains, which afford some very bold and magnificent views— a little fort called Andross, built in 1753 but now in ruins is situated on the left hand as you come out of the Mountain near which we fell into a Waggon road, & shortly after were accosted by Mr: Maddison, A Gentleman of a liberal way of thinking, who received us with genuine hospitality and gave us such a wellcome as we could not have expected from one whose life and property were in continual danger from the Indians who had made inroads much farther into the country than his habitation—

The sight of a pretty cultivated farm, well cropped, with a large garden orchard, & convenient buildings, set off by the lofty & rugged Mountains we had just passed, formed a pleasing contrast to our late situation— the cheerfull conversation of a very agreeable old man, with a plentyfull meal, (what we had long been strangers to) rest after our fatigues, and a very clean bed to

conclude were real luxuries, to people who had not lain in sheets for 7 months—

2d— Our kind host accompanied us to General Lewis's, where Major Hay and I were accommodated with beds— we had stoppd at Major McBeans—

3d. We lay at a Major Bletsoe's farm, where we were told the country people had designed to assemble & knock us on the head—<sup>275</sup> Tho we considered this as only meant to prevent our having any conversation with them, we thought it adviseable to stay within— we breakfasted at Colonel Shelby's plantation, where we were very frankly entertained— The Farm in extraordinary good order and condition, we were shown a black Stallion one of the first creatures of his sort I ever saw— at night we slept at a Captain Thompsons, where riches could not keep penury out of doors. we did not get our dinner till eleven at night, and this made us see economy in no faverable light—

4th. Arrived at Washington court house—

5th. & 6th. Halted at Colonel Arthur Campbell's where we repaired ourselves with sleep— Our Host was very civil to us, but from the difficulty of procuring Provisions in this part of the Country, some of the prisoners who were pressed with hunger and fatigue broke out into very injurious language, and even threatned to be revenged at a future day for the little attention payd to their necessities— // some time after my arrival in Virginia, I received a letter from C.C. in which he lamented my having engaged in the Indian war, & mentioned his father having been in my grandfathers family as Steward, and having saved my father from drowning in the Boyne at the age of 13 years// —

7th. Set out from Colonel Campbells where Mr: Dejean stayed, and lay at the plantation of Mr: Sayer—

8th. Passed Rail's fort, where the poor people saw us with some horror, as being of kindred manners with the Savages— A remarkable sized Stallion— forded Peeks creek and some others, and in the Evening crossed over in a ferry the new river or great Canhawa, and were kindly and hospitably received at the house of Colonel Ingles— here we rested for an entire day— a beautyfull Girl his daughter sat at the head of the table, and did the honors with such an easy and gracefull simplicity as quite charmed

us— the Scenery about this house was romantic to a degree the river very beautyfull, the hills well wooded, the low grounds well improved & well stocked, I thought his tecum toto consumerer &ca— Mrs: Ingles had in her early years been carryed off with another young Woman by the Savages, and tho carryed away into the Shawanes country had made her escape with her female friend, & wonderful to relate tho exposed to unspeakable hardships, & having nothing to subsist on but wild fruits, found her way back in safety, from a distance (if I remember right) of 200 miles— however terror and distress had left so deep an impression on her mind that she appeared absorbed in a deep melancholy, and left the management of household concerns, & the reception of Strangers to her lovely daughter.

10th. We entered into Botetourt County

11th. Crossed the Roanoak seven times.

12th. reached Mr: Howard's, where notwithstanding the wretched estate of the Country the Mistress of the family in the absence of her husband showed all the dispositions imaginable to make her house agreeable to us—

13th. forded great Otter Creek— crossed otter creek six times, and Otter river once— The Peaks of Otter make their appearance in various points of view, and terminated many of our prospects very agreeably—<sup>276</sup> A Gruff Landlord—

14th. Arrived at Bedford in the County of the same name— a tolerably well built but now nearly a deserted Village, the situation well chosen and healthy— We halted here the 15th but could scarcely keep our selves warm within doors, so ranged about to keep ourselves warm— to get a plentyfull meal was now a rarity, and what we were not to expect— Heard a coarse German girl play on an instrument of one string, which she managed tolerably—

16th We arrived at Lynche's ferry on the head of James's river, and set forward the day following on a raft composed of two canoes lashed together, and lay at the plantation of a Colonel Bosville on the North side of the river in Amherst County—

18th 19th proceeded—

20th Made a halt about breakfast time, to get some water that of the river being very hot and distastefull, to our great sur-



prize found Brigadier General Hamilton and Major Kirkman of the convention army who received us with all imaginable cordiality and politeness— In the Evening reached the plantation of a rich old Chuff a Colonel Lewis, who demanded or rather exacted fourscore dollars for our scanty supper— While I was walking in the garden I saw three Officers in British uniforms ride by, and saluted them tho' little imagining I could know or be known, but Captain Freeman aid de Camp to General Riedesel knew me thro' the disguise of a slouched hat & very shabby cloathing— After some conversation he took his leave promising to see us in the morning before our departure— he was so good, and very obligingly took charge of a letter for Genl. Haldimand, and one for Major General Philips, enclosing a copy of the capitulation, and giving him an account of our situation—

21st reached Goochland Court house— a brutal Landlord, exchanged for a civil one—

22d The Officers were orderd to Beaver Dam, the men remained— We had been left without any guard excepting Lieutenant Rogers from the time of our getting into Washington County— At the house of Mr: Thos. Pleasants we were hospitable entertained, with all the humanity, candor and simplicity of a sensible Quaker free from the ostentation of sanctity but possessed of a liberal and generous spirit— Tho a number of his family were crowded under one roof, there appeared as much neatness in their persons and as much good humor in their manner as if they had been perfectly at ease in their circumstances, and not subjected to the odious tyranny of their new Masters, who obliged them (at that time) to pay treble taxes— We expected to have remained at the house allotted for us about one mile from Mr: Pleasants, and as the time of our exchange was uncertain we had some thoughts of employing ourselves in the Garden, but on the

26th A Captain Upshaw, a curious Original, arrived with an order for our removal to Chesterfield, and on the 28th having taken a reluctant leave of our kind and sensible Quaker, we set out for Richmond—

As I have a great propensity to strike out of the common road, and dont always take the necessary precautions for getting

into it again, I this day followed my inclination and having the Surgeon with me we got into a bye road which we followed, and not getting sight of people or dwellings for a long time, added 13 miles to our days march, & did not reach Richmond till one o'Clock the next Morning— The out Sentries would not suffer us to go into town, nor would they call to the guard so we lay on the ground till the relief came—

31st Having passed our time disagreeably at Richmond from the prepossession of people against us, and the curiosity to see how such a set of Infernals carryed themselves who had each been more bloodthirsty than Herod the Tetrarch, we were marched to Chesterfield, where we were kept under a jealous guard—

June 15th An Officer arrived who had a written order signed by Govr. Jefferson for William La Mothe Captain of the Volunteers of Detroit, and myself to be taken in irons and layd in Goal [sic] at Williamsburgh— The Officer acquitted himself of this commission with reluctance and behaved very civilly—

However we were mounted with some difficulty being handcuffd, and I found a days journey of only 30 Miles tired my patience and wearyed my body exceedingly not having as yet repaired the uncommon fatigues of a March Route of 1200 miles from Fort Sackville, most part of the time but half fed, ill clothed, menaced and reviled, but as Sancho says, This was spice cake and gilt gingerbread to what was to come— We lay I cannot say rested at James City Court house that night, we had stopped at a Village on the way to have the rivetts of my handcuffs taken out, and newly set, for riding had so swelled my wrists that the rings chafed the skin too much and my conductor kindly attended to my remonstrance—

The next day it rained, the road was bad, and my legs were sore with several boils produced by heated blood at this hot season— I was permitted to walk— at Chickahomoney ferry met the Quarter Master of the 46th Regiment—

16th About Sunset reached Williamsburgh, wet jaded dispirited, forming ideas of what sort of Judicial examination I was to undergo— By the time we reached the Palace (as it is called) the Governor's residence our escort of curious persons had be-

come very numerous— The Officer went in to give account of his mission, and we remained on Horseback before the door expecting the civilities naturally to be looked for from a Man the first in place in the Province— In half an hour not finding our expectations answered, I flung myself from my horse fatigued and mortified to be left a spectacle to a gazing crowd— We were however soon relieved from the painful state of uncertainty by the appearance of the Officer, who conducted us to the Common prison, distant a small mile, our attendants increasing every step— At the Jail we were received by the Jailer, a character, however beneath other peoples notice, which soon called our attention, and which I shall touch upon elsewhere.

The opening and shutting doors and barrier, unbolting some Cells, and giving directions in an authorotative voice perhaps were designed to appall us poor Devils, and bring us to a due sense of our situation— my reflections were by no means tranquil, but curiosity with a large share of indignation rose to the surface in turns— We traversed a small court 20 feet square, walled to the height of 30 feet— A Cell Door was opened when the first object that presented itself to my sight by a dim twilight, was Mr: Dejean— which of the parties was most surprized was doubtful, but which was most affected appeared to be the Justice, who burst into tears and exclamations on seeing us in such a garb and condition— This poor man had as delicate a sense of danger as either Sancho or Partridge, and now Gibbets and wheels presented themselves to his fancy in all their horrors— The Jailer put us in, and having no further occasion for us went his way— now had we had a hot supper to sit down to, some good wine, liberty of speech and comfortable beds to lye down on, and our handcuffs taken off, it would have been a considerable alleviation—

But I had better proceed to tell what we had, and it will spare the time of particularizing the many things we had not— We had for our domicile *a place* not ten feet square by actual measurement, the only light admitted was thro' the grating of the door which opened into the Court above mentioned, the light and air are nearly excluded for the bars of this grating were from three to four inches thick—<sup>277</sup> In one corner of this snug man-

sion was fixed a kind of Throne which had been of use to such miscreants as us for 60 years past, and in certain points of wind rendered the air truly Mephytic— opposite the door and nearly adjoining the throne was a little Skuttle 5 or 6 inches wide, thro which our Victual was thrust to us— It is not necessary to describe the furniture, as such folk as were destined to be residents here had no occasion for superfluities— The Jaylor had not been long gone when I heard the noise of a flint and steel a match was lighted, and by its light I espyed certain other persons who were utter strangers to me, these worthy gentlemen when a candle was lighted offerd me their services assuring me they were very sorry to see persons of our station so hardly used— I must describe these persons as we shortly became acquainted— one was *Mr. Collins* who had been a Drummer in the British Service, but having deserted, no doubt for very prudential reasons, and finding the provincial pay insufficient for the support of a man of pleasure, had fallen upon a method of setting that matter right, by counterfeiting the current money of the State— the second was *Mr. Speers* who had been a Victualier in the borough of Southwark, he had had *his* reasons for coming to America, and had an equal right with *Mr. Collins* to imitating the manner of the engravers employed by the Commonwealth for making what they called limber dollars— *Mr. Speers*, he played on the fiddle, and perhaps to his enlivening strains I owe that I am able to write these Memoirs— A Sailor who did not like staying on board was a third— they were all very fond of Mirth and Rum, the latter greatly promoting the former so that in a short time three of six that we were, betook themselves to dancing, but *Mr. Steers* [*sic*] was not firm enough to play and dance long so he sat on the throne, playing to the other Gentlemen, who may with propriety be said to have danced *reels*— These good people however had the charity to offer us some rum which we were not so unwise as to refuse, so laying down in our wet cloaths on the boards we passed the night as well as we could

THE END



# SOURCES OF INFORMATION

## *The Writings of Henry Hamilton.*

No one has made a complete study of the writings of Henry Hamilton, the extent and significance of which may surprise many. There are probably two hundred letters and miscellaneous papers that are still in existence, not more than one-third of which have been published. Most of Hamilton's letters are in the "Official Correspondence . . ." of General Frederick Haldimand . . . in the British Museum. Other letters are among the Gage Papers in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan; among the George Germain Papers in the same library and in the British Museum; in the Burton Collection, Public Library, Detroit, Michigan; and in the possession of Dr. Otto Fisher of Detroit. The published letters are to be found in the *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, IX and X (Lansing, 1886 and 1908); the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* (31 vols., Madison, 1854-1931), and the *Illinois Historical Collections*, I (Springfield, 1903).

Although little value either as historical documents or as works of art can be assigned to some forty pictures, most of which were drawn by Hamilton, they do reveal certain facets of his character which have received very little attention. There are eight small sketches of Indians, two of white men, twenty-eight landscapes, two miniatures, and a portrait of his wife and daughter. They bear witness that he was a family man, a person who appreciated art and nature, and that he considered some of the Indians as persons of character, individuality, and dignity. The pictures and a few papers of slight value are with the "Journal" and the "Autobiography" in the Houghton Library of Harvard University. They were preserved by the family of one of Hamilton's brothers and given to Harvard in 1902.

On four occasions he produced long narratives of his experiences. The chief source of information about the British side of the conflict with Clark has been "The Report by Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton on His Proceedings from November, 1776 to June, 1781." Written in London for Governor Haldimand by July 6 of the latter year, it gives briefly the important facts about the expedition to Vincennes and contains information about Hamilton's imprisonment in Virginia which is not in his longer "Journal." "The Report" is about one-fourth the length of the "Journal," and lacks much interesting detail, but has been published four times. It appeared in the *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, IX, 489-516; in the Historical Manuscripts Commission's *Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville, of Dayton House, Northamptonshire* (2 vols., Hereford, England, 1910), II, 223-248; in James A. James (ed.), *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781* (Springfield, Illinois, 1912),

174-207; and in Milo M. Quaife, *The Capture of Old Vincennes* (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1927), 172-220. Manuscript copies are in the Germain Papers in the Clements Library and in the Haldimand Collection in the British Museum.

Nearly a year later Hamilton prepared a briefer statement which was a modest and dignified defense against charges of inhumanity. It was entitled: "Narrative of the Case [of] Henry Hamilton who in 1775 was appoi[n]ted Lt. Gov. & Superintendant at Detroit." Probably written for Lord Shelburne in the hope of improving his chances for a new position, it was dated London, April 9, 1782, and was followed by Shelburne's recommendation that Hamilton be appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. The original is in the Shelburne Papers in the Clements Library.

Four years before his death, Hamilton wrote an "Autobiography," which describes his early life to the end of the Seven Years' War. It was written in 1792 about events that had taken place from 1734 to 1762. Although it contains one hundred and thirty pages of handwritten manuscript, it is generally lacking in historical significance. The author had lost some of his personal records, his memory of various events had faded, and other accounts, which he sometimes cited, were superior to what he was able to write. Although he participated in the siege of Quebec, for instance, he did not add anything to the history of the battle. Obviously, this document was the work of an elderly man and was the last in point of time of his important writings. The manuscript is in the Houghton Library at Harvard University.

More important than any of these documents is Hamilton's "Journal," a manuscript which he began when a messenger arrived at Detroit, August 6, 1778, bringing word that the Americans had taken Kaskaskia, a day by day record of his actions in which he wrote almost daily, and which was discontinued only when he was imprisoned in the jail at Williamsburg, Virginia, and deprived of pen and ink on June 16, 1779. It contains one hundred and sixty-six large pages of manuscript in Hamilton's handwriting and is a more detailed and a more significant account of the same events which are found in the "Report" and the "Narrative," in fact, these latter were prepared from the "Journal." It seems to have been known to few historians, although it contains considerable information about the Indians and their customs, the nature of the country through which Hamilton led his little army from Detroit to Vincennes, the difficulties of traveling by way of the Maumee-Wabash route, the French in the interior of North America, the Wilderness Trace through Kentucky, the characters of Clark and Hamilton, and the conflict between these two leaders.

The "Journal" in its present form does not seem to be the original, for there are remarks in it which could not have been written on the dates when the original entries were made. Generally, these additions are easily identified; some of them were set off by marks resembling parentheses. In the British Museum are two other documents that have some

bearing on this problem but which do not necessarily solve it. One is a diary or journal in Hamilton's hand extending from August 6 to October 6, 1778. It differs from the complete journal only in being shorter. One might conclude that it was a part of the original, but it may have been a briefer form of the original which was prepared and sent with a full report to the "commander-in-chief" just before the expedition left Detroit. There is another account covering the journey from Vincennes to Virginia called "dates of March." The original form was probably shorter than the present, but longer than the "Report." By comparing the "Journal" with a series of his letters which he could not have revised, it appears that the revision of the "Journal" was literary in purpose and honest in character. He did not seek to conceal his mistakes or misrepresent the past in his favor. He must have made the revision after his release from the Williamsburg jail and the time he wrote the Autobiography. The manuscript is in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

### *Other Contemporary Documents*

The most important collection of manuscripts connected with Henry Hamilton is the Official Correspondence and Papers of General Frederick Haldimand during his various Commands, 1758-1785 (British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, Nos. 21,661-21,982). This vast collection contains many letters to and from Hamilton that have not been published. It also contains a very large number of letters of officials in Canada, the American colonies, and England. The Canadian Archives, Ottawa, Canada, contains carefully made transcripts of this important collection. These transcripts were used in this study. They have been calendared in the *Reports on Canadian Archives, 1884 to 1889* (Ottawa, 1885-1890).

Three early letters of Hamilton have been preserved in the Thomas Gage Papers, 180 volumes, 1754-1783, which are now housed in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The collection contains the correspondence and headquarters papers of Lieutenant General Gage who was the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, 1763-1775.

The George Germain Papers is another very significant collection for this period. There are twenty-two volumes, which cover the years 1683-1785, in the William L. Clements Library. They are the military and political correspondence of Lord George Germain who was Secretary of State for the colonies from 1775 to 1782 and who was the official of the home government in charge of affairs in Canada. Hamilton seems to have been a friend of Germain and to have written directly to him on occasion. Some of these papers were preserved in Dayton House, Northamptonshire, England, and were calendared by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in *Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville, of Dayton House, Northamptonshire*. This report supersedes an earlier one.

Mr. Clements acquired the portions of the collection of concern to America and added other papers to them. There are two important letters of Hamilton and the Report by . . . Hamilton on His Proceedings . . . 1776-1781, which has already been described. See Randolph G. Adams, *The Papers of Lord George Germain* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1928).

There is also a collection of Germain Papers in the British Museum of which there are transcripts in the Library of Congress. They concern the period, 1775-1782. The card index of the latter and some of the letters were examined to see if Hamilton wrote to Germain recommending that he institute Indian warfare as Germain stated.

The Papers of Lord Shelburne are also in the Clements Library. Several letters of Hamilton including the long one of April 9, 1782, in which he defended himself against the charge of cruelty are among them. There is also other material concerning the origin of the use of the Indians in the Revolution.

In the state Auditor's Office, Indianapolis, Indiana, are the Records Surveys of U. S. Lands, eight large manuscript volumes containing descriptions of the land and maps showing each section of land in the state as made by the original surveyors. Geographical features are shown in considerable detail.

Jacob Schieffelin was the author of "Narrative of Gov. Henry Hamilton, Loose Notes of the Proceedings and Suffering of Henry Hamilton, Esq., Governor of Le Detroit with the Party that accompanied him from that post to their imprisonment in Rebel Goal at Williamsburg, Virginia," in *The Magazine of American History*, I (1877), 186-193. It is a brief collateral account by a lieutenant of volunteers who was with Hamilton from Detroit to Williamsburg and who confirms Hamilton's judgment of John Dodge upon whose testimony Jefferson depended in justifying the imprisonment of Hamilton. "Account brought in by Capt. Chene from St. Vincennes received Ap 17 1779," in *Illinois Historical Collections*, I, 424-426, is a brief collateral statement by one of Hamilton's officers.

## Maps.

A number of maps and atlases which were produced about the time Hamilton directed his expedition to Vincennes were consulted. Only the more important ones can be mentioned. The most significant is the manuscript map which was produced by one of the officers who accompanied Hamilton. It is entitled: "Sketch of the River Miamis . . . taken in the Month of Novr. 1778, H: Duvernet, 2d Lt. R. R. Ar." It has been separated from other documents of the expedition and is preserved in the map room of the Canadian Archives. It contains a brief statement of the route from Detroit to the head of the Maumee. Thomas Hutchins, *A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland*



and North Carolina . . . (London, 1778), represents the best knowledge of the area, so far as map makers were concerned, at the time Hamilton went to Vincennes. It does contain a number of errors. John Mitchell, *A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America*, (London, 1755) and Jean B. B. D'Anville, *Canada, Louisiane, et Terres Angloises* ([Paris], 1755), are maps that were made before Hamilton's time, but which give some useful detail. *Patrick McNiff's Plan of Settlement of Detroit, 1796, reproduced from the Original Manuscript in the Clements Library* (Ann Arbor, 1946), and Aaron Arrowsmith, *Map of Northern United States and Canada* (London, 1798, additions to 1802), were produced after the Revolution but they contain some useful information. John Filson's famous map, drawn to accompany *The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucky*, is useful in following Hamilton across Kentucky on his way to Williamsburg, Virginia. The Records Surveys of U. S. Land contain detailed maps of the area within the state of Indiana.

### *Published Documents and Contemporaneous Writings.*

In editing the *George Rogers Clark Papers*, in volumes VIII and XIX (1912 and 1926) of the Illinois State Historical Library *Collections*, James A. James has published a most valuable collection of documents related to the expeditions of Clark and Hamilton. Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1908), and *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1912), published much documentary material from the collection made by Lyman C. Draper. Miss Kellogg continued this publishing program after the death of Thwaites and her *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1916), is also valuable in this connection. Reuben G. Thwaites in the *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (32 vols., Cleveland, Ohio, 1904-1907), I, included the "Writings of George Croghan" and the "Journal of Captain Thomas Morris," who passed along parts of the route taken by Hamilton approximately fifteen years earlier. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, et al. (15 vols., Albany, New York, 1853-1887), contains material on the origin of the use of the Indians in the Revolution. An occasional letter and many footnotes in *The John Askin Papers* (2 vols., Detroit, 1928, 1931), edited by Milo M. Quaife, were helpful in identifying individuals to whom Hamilton referred in his Journal. The treaty or contract by which the Wabash Land Company made its purchase of land along the Wabash River is found in *The Illinois-Wabash Land Company Manuscript with an introduction by Clarence W. Alword* (privately printed by Cyrus H. McCormick, 1915). Hamilton referred

several times to this contract. The historical introduction in Milo M. Quaife (ed.), *The Capture of Old Vincennes, the Original Narratives of George Rogers Clark and of His Opponent Gov. Henry Hamilton* (Indianapolis, Indiana, c. 1927), treats Hamilton with complete fairness, but the documentary material may be found in James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*.

Various documents of the Revolutionary era were published in John Almon, *The Remembrancer; or, impartial repository of Public Events* (17 vols., London, 1775-1784). Information about the government of Canada under the Quebec Act may be found in Adam Shortt and Arthur C. Doughty (eds.), *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791* (Ottawa, 1907). Artistic tendencies did not seem to interfere with the direction of Indian warfare, for Hamilton was interested in sketching landscapes and his successor at Detroit was something of a poet. See Arent S. De Peyster, *Miscellanies by an Officer* (Dumfries, Scotland, 1813, and New York, 1888). Hamilton's chief traducers in regard to the purchase of scalps have left their accounts in Consul W. Butterfield (ed.), *A Short Biography of John Leith with a brief account of his life among the Indians* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1883), and [John Dodge], "A Narrative of the capture and treatment of John Dodge, by the English, at Detroit," in Almon's *Remembrancer . . . for the Year 1779*, pp. 73-81. The latter was also printed separately and more recently reproduced in facsimile from the second edition of 1780 as *Narrative of Mr John Dodge during his captivity at Detroit . . .* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909). "George Croghan's Journal, April 3, 1759 to April [30], 1763," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Philadelphia, 1877- ), LXXI (1947), 303-444, illustrates the use of the Indians in the Seven Years' War. Various Indians who accompanied Hamilton to Vincennes or who were met by him on the expedition were identified by reference to the documents printed in the *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, and in *Treaties between the United States of America and the several Indian Tribes, from 1778 to 1837* (Washington, 1837).

Letters and documents illustrative of Hamilton's imprisonment in Virginia were found in the following: John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of Washington* (39 vols., Washington, 1931-1934); Paul L. Ford (ed.), *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (9 vols., New York, 1892-1898); William P. Palmer (ed.), *Calendar of Virginia State Papers . . .* (11 vols., Richmond, Virginia, 1875-1893); Worthington C. Ford, et al. (eds.), *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789 . . .* (34 vols., Washington, 1904-1907); and Madame de Riedesel, *Letters and Memoirs relating to the War of American Independence* (translated from the original German, New York, 1827).

## Historical Accounts (Secondary)

The most scholarly and trustworthy of the lives of Clark is *The Life of George Rogers Clark* (Chicago, c. 1928), by Professor James A. James of Northwestern University. After editing the *George Rogers Clark Papers*, he was eminently fitted to write this volume. He did not use Hamilton's Journal and consequently was not entirely accurate in respect to a few details. Although it is not quite fair to Hamilton, it is an excellent piece of work.

Louise P. Kellogg, in addition to her editorial work, produced two historical works of marked significance for anyone seeking to understand the area and the times in which Hamilton served as Lieutenant-Governor or Detroit: *French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1925), and *The British Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1935). Allen French, *The First Year of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1934), is a scholarly and detailed account which includes considerable information with adequate detachment on the introduction of Indians in the Revolution. Justin Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 vols., Boston, 1884-1889), contains a bibliography on Indian warfare and an excellent article by Andrew W. Davis entitled "The Indians and the Border Warfare of the Revolution." William H. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio . . .* (2 vols., Indianapolis, Indiana, 1896), and Consul W. Butterfield, *History of George R. Clark's Conquest of the Illinois and the Wabash Towns, 1778 and 1779* (Columbus, Ohio, 1904), are earlier accounts that contain documentary material.

Special phases of the history of the region have been described in the following works: Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818*, which is volume I of *The Centennial History of Illinois* (5 vols., Chicago, 1917-1920); Clarence W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (2 vols., Cleveland, Ohio, 1917); Howard H. Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1947); A. G. Bradley, "Lord Dorchester," and Jean N. McIlwraith, "Sir Frederick Haldimand," in volume III of *The Makers of Canada Series* (London, 1926); Frank H. Severance, *An Old Frontier of France* (2 vols., New York, 1917); Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (4 vols., New York, 1900); Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio* (Pittsburgh, 1940); Robert L. Kincaid, *The Wilderness Road* (Indianapolis, Indiana, c. 1947); and Consul W. Butterfield, *History of the Girtys . . .* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1890).

Various local histories furnished information about persons or places mentioned in Hamilton's Journal. The histories of Michigan and Detroit reveal prejudice against Hamilton much of which was based on inaccurate information. The following were consulted: James H. Lanman, *History of Michigan* (New York, 1839); James V. Campbell, *Outlines of the Political History of Michigan* (Detroit, 1876); Silas



Farmer, *History of Detroit and Wayne County* (2 vols., New York, 1890); Henry M. Utley, et al., *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State* (4 vols., n.p., 1906); and Clarence M. Burton, *The City of Detroit, Michigan, 1701-1922* (5 vols., Detroit, 1922). Milo M. Quaife and Sidney Glazer, *Michigan, From Primitive Wilderness to Industrial Commonwealth* (New York, 1948), embodies ripe historical scholarship and fairness to Hamilton. Charles E. Slocum, *History of the Maumee River Basin* (Defiance, Ohio, c. 1905), is a substantial piece of work. Charles S. Van Tassel, *Story of the Maumee Valley* (4 vols., Chicago, 1929), was also helpful. Elmore Barce, *Land of the Miamis* (Fowler, Indiana, 1922), captured some of the early Indiana scenes. Jacob P. Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans* (5 vols., Chicago, 1919), and Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana* (2 vols., Indianapolis, Indiana, 1915, 1918), reflect considerable hostility to Hamilton.

Biographical information was secured from the following: John B. Burke, *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage, and Knighthage, Privy Council, and Order of Precedence* (London, 1938); *Dictionary of National Biography* (63 vols., New York, 1885-1900); and Lawrence J. Burpee, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Canadian History*, volume XII of *The Makers of Canada Series* (New York, 1926). Alfred L. Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec* (Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1933), is an excellent piece of work which revises briefly the traditional Canadian attitude towards Hamilton.

A few secondary articles by historians were useful in learning about the problems which Hamilton confronted. Clarence W. Alvord, "Father Pierre Gibault and the Submission of Post Vincennes, 1778," in the *American Historical Review*, XIV (1908-1909), 544-557, presents documentary evidence on the work of Father Gibault. Andrew M. Davis, "The Employment of Indian Auxiliaries in the American War," in the *English Historical Review*, II (1886), 709-728, is the best treatment of the subject. See also another article of his in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, VI, 605-647. Duncan McArthur, "Constitutional History, 1763-1840," in Adam Shortt and Arthur J. Doughty (eds.), *Canada and Its Provinces*, IV, 421-488. Among the many articles written by Milo M. Quaife, two may be mentioned: "A Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier," in Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1914, and "The Royal Navy of the Upper Lakes," in the Burton Historical Collection Leaflet, II, No. 5 (May, 1924). Nelson V. Russell also wrote two useful articles, "The Indian Policy of Henry Hamilton: A Re-evaluation," in the *Canadian Historical Review*, XI (1930), 20-37; and "The Governmental Organization of Michigan, 1760-1787," in the *Michigan History Magazine*, XXIII (1939), 93-104.

## *Historical Publications and Periodicals.*

The historical periodicals and publications of the states of Michigan,



Wisconsin, and Illinois contain a large amount of material on the Revolution in the West. The *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* (40 vols., Lansing, Michigan, 1874-1929), contain copies of letters found in the Haldimand Collection and of other British official records concerning Detroit. *The Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (31 vols., Madison, Wisconsin, 1854-1931), also contain similar material particularly concerning the Wisconsin aspects of the period. *The Illinois Historical Collections* (Springfield, Illinois, 1903- ), is an important media for the publication of letters and documents concerning Clark and Hamilton. The first and eighth volumes are the more important.

The *American Historical Review*, the *English Historical Review*, the *Canadian Historical Review*, the *Michigan History Magazine*, and the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* published material of importance concerning Hamilton.

## *Bibliographical Aids*

*Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1918); Wisconsin State Historical Society, *Descriptive List of Manuscript Collections of the Society* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1906); Charles M. Andrews and Frances J. Davenport (comps.), *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge* (Washington, 1908); Charles M. Andrews (comp.), *Guide to the Materials for American History, to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain* (2 vols., Washington, 1912, 1914); David W. Parker, *Guide to Materials in Canadian Archives* (Washington, 1913); David W. Parker, *A Guide to the Documents in the Manuscript Room at the Public Archives of Canada* (Ottawa, 1914); and card catalogues of the Canadian Archives, Ottawa; the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan; the Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan; and *A Catalog of Books Represented by the Library of Congress Printed Cards Issued to July 31, 1942* (167 vols., Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1942-1946).

# NOTES

- 1 *Alice of Old Vincennes* (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1900) was a best seller, and *The Crossing* (New York, 1904) was also among the more popular novels of its day. William H. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio* (2 vols., Indianapolis, Indiana, 1896) may have furnished historical background for the novelists. James A. James (ed.), *George Rogers Clark Papers* in the Illinois State Historical Library Collections, VIII and XIX (2 vols., Springfield, Illinois, 1912 and 1926), and James A. James, *The Life of George Rogers Clark* (Chicago, 1928), form the best study of Clark.
- 2 *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXIV (New York, 1890), 162-166, 167-170, 141-144, 159-160, and John B. Burke, *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage . . .* (London, 1938), 363-364.
- 3 Hamilton's drawings are in the Houghton Library of Harvard University.
- 4 Information about Hamilton's early life and military experience is found in his Autobiography, a manuscript of 130 pages which is in the Houghton Library of Harvard University. See also Orville J. Jaebker, *Henry Hamilton: Soldier and Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit* (M.A. Thesis, Indiana University, 1949).
- 5 Autobiography, 3, 6, 21, 34, 36-38, 93-94.
- 6 The Journal of Henry Hamilton, a manuscript of 166 pages, is in the Houghton Library of Harvard University. It is published in this volume for the first time. The stories are not included. For a discussion of its value see the bibliography of this volume.
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 Alfred L. Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec* (Toronto, 1933), 409-411.
- 9 Clarence W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (2 vols., Cleveland, 1917).
- 10 Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (eds.), *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791* (Ottawa, 1907), 401-405. See also 419-433. Nelson V. Russell, "The Governmental Organization of Michigan, 1760-1787," in *Michigan History Magazine* (Lansing, Michigan, 1917- ), XXIII (1939), 93-104. Carleton was governor of Canada, 1766-1778.
- 11 Abbott was a British artillery officer and the only lieutenant-governor appointed by the English for Vincennes. He protested to Governor Haldimand against the use of Indians against the frontiersmen. See *Michigan Pioneer Collections* (40 vols., Lansing, 1874-1929), IX (1908), 488-489. The *Collections* will hereafter be cited as *M P C*. Rocheblave was a native of France who came to America in 1750 and was captured by Clark. James, *Clark Papers*, I, 176.

- DePeyster was commandant at Michilimackinac, 1774-1779, and at Detroit, 1779-1785. He was the author of *Miscellanies by An Officer*. (Dumfries, Scotland, 1813, and New York, 1888). Lernoult was in command of the troops at Detroit while Hamilton was lieutenant-governor.
- 12 Hamilton to Dartmouth, August 29 to September 2, 1776, in *M P C*, X (1908), 267.
  - 13 *Ibid.*, 264-265.
  - 14 *Ibid.*, 266-267.
  - 15 Carleton to Lieutenant Colonel Bolton, St. Johns, September 24, 1777, in J. Almon, *The Remembrancer . . . for the Year 1778* (London, 1778), 188-191.
  - 16 James V. Campbell, *Outlines of the Political History of Michigan* (Detroit, 1876), 165-166; Henry M. Utley, *et al.*, *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State* (4 vols., n.p., 1906), I, 325; and Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Wayne County* (2 vols., New York, 1890), I, 173-174.
  - 17 Hamilton to Haldimand, [Detroit, early in September, 1778], in *M P C*, IX, 464-469. Haldimand was a native of Switzerland who entered the British army in 1756 and who served with distinction in several positions. He was governor and commander-in-chief in Canada, 1778-1784. Jean N. McIlwraith, *Sir Frederick Haldimand in The Makers of Canada Series*, III (London, 1926).
  - 18 Milo M. Quaife, The Death of Claude Charles Moran. This is a manuscript which was loaned to me by the author.
  - 19 James H. Lanman, *History of Michigan* (New York, 1839), 133-136, gives the verdict and the sentence by Dejean. See also Campbell, *Political History of Michigan*, 166-169.
  - 20 Haldimand to Germain, Quebec, October 25, 1778, in Canadian Archives, Q 15, 334-355. An extract of Germain's reply is in *M P C*, X, 304.
  - 21 Clarence M. Burton, *The City of Detroit, Michigan, 1701-1922* (5 vols., Detroit, 1922), I, 195; and Quaife, The Death of Claude Charles Moran. The evidence of Hamilton's supposed tyranny was written by persons inflamed by the passions of war. The early historians of Detroit were also ready to believe the worst of the British. James, *Life of Clark*, 132 and n.2, repeats this point.
  - 22 Hamilton to Haldimand, Ouiatenon, December 4, 1778, in Illinois State Historical Library *Collections* (Springfield, Illinois, 1903- ), I, 220-225. The *Collections* will hereafter be referred to as *I H C*.
  - 23 Pat Sinclair to Brehm, Michilimackinac, February 15, 1780, in Wisconsin Historical *Collections* (31 vols., Madison, Wisconsin, 1854-1931), XI (1888), 144-146. The *Collections* will hereafter be referred to as *W H C*.
  - 24 Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (4 vols., New York, 1900), II, 87; James, *Clark Papers*, I, 97; James, *Life of Clark*, 52;

- Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818*, in *The Centennial History of Illinois* (5 vols., Chicago, 1917-1920), I, 313-314; and Milo M. Quaife and Sidney Glazer, *Michigan, From Primitive Wilderness to Industrial Commonwealth* (New York, 1948), 102-105.
- 25 There is much information on Indian warfare in Louise P. Kellogg's works. See her *French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1925), 84-85, 406-407, 414-422, 429-436, *et passim*.
  - 26 "George Croghan's Journal, April 3, 1759 to April [30], 1763," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXI (1947), 357.
  - 27 Journal of Henry Hamilton, *post*, entry for November 28, 1778.
  - 28 Hamilton to the Earl of Dartmouth, Detroit, August 29 to September 2, 1776, in *M P C*, X, 264-270.
  - 29 Extract of a letter from General Gage to General Carleton, Boston, September 4, 1774, in Germain Papers in Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Extract of General Carleton's Answer to Gen. Gage, Quebec, September 20, 1774, in *ibid.*; Extract of a letter from Gov. Carleton to the Earl of Dartmouth, June 7, 1775, in *ibid.*
  - 30 Extracts from the Records of Indian Transactions under the Superintendency of Colonel Guy Johnson during the year 1775, in *ibid.*
  - 31 Earl of Dartmouth to Colonel Guy Johnson, Whitehall, July 5, 1775, and July 24, 1775, in E. B. O'Callaghan, *et al.*, (eds.), *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (15 vols., Albany, New York, 1853-1887), VIII (1857), 592, 596.
  - 32 The subject of the employment of Indians has been repeatedly studied. The better accounts include Andrew M. Davis, "The Employment of Indian Auxiliaries in the American War," in the *English Historical Review* (London, 1886- ), II (1887), 709-728; and "The Indians and the Border Warfare of the Revolution," in Justin Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 vols., Boston, 1884-1889), VI (1887), 605-647; Allen French, *The First Year of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1934), *passim*; James, *Clark Papers*, I, xiii-xl; Louise P. Kellogg, *The British Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1935), 138-150; and Nelson V. Russell, "The Indian Policy of Henry Hamilton: A Re-evaluation," in *The Canadian Historical Review* (Toronto, 1920- ), XI (1930), 20-37.
  - 33 Kellogg, *British Régime*, 135-136; [Carleton] to DePeyster, Montreal, July 19, 1776, and [Carleton] to Hamilton, Montreal, July 19, 1776, in *M P C*, X, 262-263.
  - 34 "G. C." to Hamilton, October 6, 1776, in *M P C*, IX, 344, and Carleton to Hamilton, Quebec, February 2, 1777, in *ibid.*, 345-346.
  - 35 Hamilton to Dartmouth, Detroit, August 29 to September 2, 1776,



- in *M P C*, X, 264-270.
- 36 Germain to Carleton, Whitehall, March 26, 1777, in *M P C*, IX, 346-348. The quotation follows the Canadian copy in Canadian Archives, Q 15, 233-236.
  - 37 Carleton to Germain, Quebec, May 20, 1777, in Canadian Archives, Q 13, 111.
  - 38 Hamilton to Carleton, June 16, 1777, in Canadian Archives, Q 14, 25-30. It also records the council with the Indians.
  - 39 Germain to Carleton, Whitehall, March 26, 1777, in *M P C*, IX, 346-348.
  - 40 "Extract from the Council held at . . . Detroit, 17th June 1777," in Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg (eds.), *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1912), 7-13. See also Hamilton to [Carleton], Detroit, June 15, 1777, in *M P C*, X, 277.
  - 41 Hamilton to Germain, Detroit, July 27, 1777, in Canadian Archives, Q 14, 72-73.
  - 42 Hamilton to Germain, Detroit, September 5, 1777, in Canadian Archives, Q 14, 225-228.
  - 43 Hamilton to Carleton, n.p. and n.d., in *M P C*, IX, 440-442, and Canadian Archives, B 122, 255-258. In the latter it is dated as July, 1778, but since it relates events which occurred from September to December, it must have referred to 1777.
  - 44 Carleton to Hamilton, St. John's, September 26, 1777, in *M P C*, IX, 351.
  - 45 Hamilton to Carleton, Detroit, June 26, 1777, in Canadian Archives, Q 14, 30-35, and Hamilton to Germain, Detroit, July 27, 1777, in *ibid.*, Q 14, 72-73.
  - 46 Carleton to [Hamilton], Quebec, September 15, 1777, in *M P C*, IX, 350; Abbott to Carleton, St. Vincennes, August 3, 1777, and September 26, 1777, in Canadian Archives, Q 15, 96-97, and 98; and Abbott to Germain, Detroit, April 3, 1778, in *ibid.*, Q 15, 209-210. Hamilton tactfully defended Abbott in his letter to Carleton of June 16, 1777, in *ibid.*, Q 14, 25-30.
  - 47 Hamilton to Germain, Detroit, September 15, 1777, and accompanying copies of some Memorandums and queries left in the hands of John Pownal Esq. Secretary &c in the Month of April 1775 [with additions to June 7, 1778], in Canadian Archives, Q 15, 211-214, 215-218.
  - 48 Carleton to Hamilton, St. John's, September 26, 1777, in *M P C*, IX, 351; Carleton to Bolton, St. John's, September 24, 1777, in *ibid.*, X, 280.
  - 49 Hamilton to Carleton, [Detroit, January 15, 1778], in *ibid.*, IX, 430-433.
  - 50 Carleton to Hamilton, Montreal, March 14, 1778, in *ibid.*, 351-352; Haldimand to Hamilton, Quebec, August 6, 1778, in *ibid.*, 399-402.

- 51 Proclamation for safe conduct to Detroit, the Miamis, Sandusky, or Post Vincennes, for all who wish the protection of Great Britain, January 5, 1778. Original in National Archives, Washington, photographic copy in Burton Historical Collection in Detroit Public Library.
- 52 Hamilton to Carleton, Detroit, April 25, 1778, in *M P C*, IX 433-437. Boone reported ten were surrendered. See John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucky . . .* (New York, 1793), 60-61. According to this account all prisoners except Boone were surrendered to Hamilton. Beaubien was an interpreter for the Miami.
- 53 Hamilton to Carleton, [Detroit, January 15, 1778], in *M P C*, IX, 430-433.
- 54 Minutes of the Council held at Detroit June 14-20, with the Chippewa, Potawatomi, Delaware and other tribes, in *ibid.*, 442-452.
- 55 Minutes of the Council held at Detroit, June 29, to July 3, 1778, with Ojibwa, Kickapoo, and Mascouten, in *ibid.*, 452-458.
- 56 Abbott to Carleton, Detroit, June 8, 1778, in *ibid.*, 488-489.
- 57 Hamilton to Germain, Detroit, August 8, 1778, in Canadian Archives, Q 15, 230-232, erroneously given as sent to Carleton in *I H C*, I, 330-331.
- 58 Hamilton to Cramahé, Detroit, August 12, 1778, in *M P C*, IX, 462. See also his letter to Cramahé, Detroit, August 12, 1778, in *ibid.*, 461-462. Cramahé was lieutenant-governor of Quebec, 1771-1782.
- 59 Cincinnati, *Centinel of the North-Western Territory*, May 17, 1794, contains an offer by a committee of citizens of rewards for Indian scalps.
- 60 *Narrative of John Dodge During His Captivity at Detroit*, Reproduced in facsimile from the second edition of 1780 (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909), also printed in J. Almon, *The Remembrancer . . . For the Year 1779* (London, 1779), 73-81; Consul W. Butterfield, *A Short Biography of John Leith with a brief account of his life among the Indians* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1883); Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 230-233; and Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 352.
- 61 Narrative of the Case [of] Henry Hamilton who in 1775 was appointed Lt. Gov. & Superintendant at Detroit. This manuscript is in the Shelburne Papers in the Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Hamilton dated the Narrative in London on April 9, 1782, and probably intended it as his defense against the charge of cruelty.
- 62 The date of the letter to Germain is not certain for the copy in the Canadian Archives is undated. Probably he started to write on the sixth when the news arrived but did not send it until the eighth when he dispatched a letter to Carleton that was dated. The letters are much alike. The letter to Germain is in *I H C*, I, 330-331, where it is given as though written to Carleton. The greeting, "My Lord,"

- should have saved the editor from this error. The letters are in the Canadian Archives as follows: Hamilton to Carleton, Detroit, August 8, 1778, in B 121, 121, and B 122, 115, and Hamilton to Germain, in Q 15, 230-232.
- 63 DePeyster to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, August 15, 1778, in *I H C*, I, 334-335. See also DePeyster to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, August 31, 1778, in *M P C*, IX, 369-370. See Clarence W. Alvord, "Father Pierre Gibault and the Submission of Post Vincennes, 1778," in *American Historical Review*, XIV (1908-1909), 544-557.
  - 64 Chevalier to DePeyster, St. Josephs, September 15, 1778, in *M P C*, XIX (1911), 352, and Hamilton to Haldimand, [September 5, 1778], in *ibid.*, IX, 464-473. Chevalier was an Indian agent at St. Joseph during the British period.
  - 65 The story of Clark's expedition has been ably related by James in *The Life of George Rogers Clark*. Many of the documents from which he constructed this account are published in James, *Clark Papers*, I.
  - 66 Haldimand to Hamilton, Montreal, August 26, 1778, in *M P C*, IX, 402-404.
  - 67 Haldimand to Hamilton, Montreal, August 27, 1778, in *ibid.*, 404; and Haldimand to DePeyster, Montreal, August 30, 1778, in *ibid.*, 353-354.
  - 68 Haldimand to Germain, Quebec, October 24, 1778, and Haldimand to Germain, Quebec, October 25, 1778, in Canadian Archives, Q 15, 283-291, and 336-339. The latter was printed in part in *M P C*, X, 304.
  - 69 Hamilton to Haldimand, Detroit, September 16, 1778, in *M P C*, IX, 475-477. Jean Baptiste Céloron was one of the sons of Pierre Joseph Céloron who was twice commander of Detroit and the leader of the famous expedition down the Ohio. The younger Céloron was stationed at Ouiatenon by Hamilton but left his post when attacked by a force sent by Clark. For this Hamilton accused him of treachery. See *W H C*, XI (1888), 178-181.
  - 70 DePeyster to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, September 21, 1778, in *M P C*, IX, 371-373.
  - 71 Journal, September 23 and 24, 1778, and Hamilton to Haldimand, Detroit, September 22, 1778, in *M P C*, IX, 477-482. The letter is a day by day account, September 22 to October 3.
  - 72 Hamilton to Haldimand, Detroit, October 7, 1778, in *M P C*, IX, 486-487.
  - 73 For the regulars and the Indians see the letter cited *ante* note 72. For the others see *M P C*, IX, 484.
  - 74 In addition to the "Journal" see Hamilton to Haldimand, Rocher de Bout, October 14, 1778, in *M P C*, X, 303-304, and E. Slocum,

- History of the Maumee River Basin* (Defiance, Ohio, c. 1905), 457-459.
- 75 James, *Clark Papers*, I, 130; Hamilton's "Journal," October 14, 1778; Hamilton to Haldimand, Camp at Petite Riviere, November 1, 1778, in *W H C*, XI, 178-181, Hamilton to Haldimand, Rocher de Bout, October 14, 1778, in *M P C*, X, 303-304. Helm was in command at Vincennes.
  - 76 There was a Mary Louisa Delorme, wife of William Monforton, after whom the creek may have been named. See Milo M. Quaife (ed.), *The John Askin Papers* (2 vols., Detroit, 1928, 1931), I, 107.
  - 77 Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio* (Pittsburgh, 1940), 218.
  - 78 Sketch of the River Miamis . . . taken in the month of Novr. 1778, H: Duvernet, 2d Lt. R. R. Ar. See also Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (32 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907), I, 150.
  - 79 Hamilton to Haldimand, Miamis Town, October 28, 1778, in *I H C*, I, 359-360.
  - 80 Hay was a native of Chester, Pennsylvania, who enlisted in the 60th Royal or American Regiment and who was stationed at Detroit as early as 1762. He became a lieutenant, a commissary, a deputy Indian agent, and a major in the Detroit militia. Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1908), 130, note 27.
  - 81 The "Journal" is supplemented at this point by a letter, Hamilton to Haldimand, Camp at Petite Riviere, November 1, 1778, in *W H C*, XI, 178-181.
  - 82 This point was somewhere in or near section 16, township 30N, range 11E of the second principal meridian. Records Surveys U. S. Lands (8 vols.), VII, map 82. These manuscript records are in the office of the Auditor, State of Indiana, Indianapolis.
  - 83 "Journal," November 23, 1778.
  - 84 Hamilton to Haldimand, Ouatatonon, December 4, 1778, in *I H C*, I, 220-225, which supplements the "Journal" at this point.
  - 85 This is a reference to the Wabash Land Company's purchase. See *American State Papers; Indian Affairs*, I, 338-339 and *The Illinois-Wabash Land Company Manuscript* with an introduction by Clarence W. Alvord (privately printed by Cyrus H. McCormick, 1915).
  - 86 The Piankashaw under their chiefs the Old and Young Tobacco claimed that they controlled the lower Wabash. Clark mentioned the Young Tobacco several times. James, *Clark Papers*, I, 277, 281, 242, and 152-153.
  - 87 Hamilton to Haldimand, St. Vincennes, December 18, 1778, in *I H C*, I, 227-235. This letter describes events from December 15 to 30, 1778.
  - 88 James, *Clark Papers*, I, 184.



- 89 Hamilton to Haldimand, St. Vincennes, December 18, 1778, in *I H C*, I, 227-235.
- 90 James, *Clark Papers*, I, 132-137.
- 91 DePeyster to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, October 24, 1778, in *M P C*, IX, 374-376.
- 92 Mason Bolton to Haldimand, Niagara, November 13, 1778, in *ibid.*, XIX, 365-366.
- 93 DePeyster to Langlade and Gautier, Fort Michilimackinac, October 26, 1778, in *ibid.*, VIII (1907), 466-467; DePeyster to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, October 27, 1778, in *ibid.*, IX, 376-377; and DePeyster to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, January 29, 1779, in *ibid.*, IX, 377-378.
- 94 Hamilton to Haldimand, Detroit, September 22, 1778, in *ibid.*, IX, 477-478.
- 95 Hamilton to Haldimand, Ouiatenon, December 4, 1778, in *I H C*, I, 220-225; Hamilton to Haldimand, St. Vincennes, December 18, 1778, in *ibid.*, 227-235.
- 96 *Ibid.*, 235-237.
- 97 Hamilton to Haldimand, St. Vincennes, December 18, 1778, in *ibid.*, 227-235. See the plan of the fort before Hamilton repaired it in Plan of Fort Sackville by Henry DuVernet, December 22, 1778, in *ibid.*, opposite p. 231.
- 98 Hamilton to Haldimand, St. Vincennes, January 24, 1779, in *ibid.*, 389-393.
- 99 "Speeches brought to Detroit by Mr. Beaubein, Sept. 27th 1778," in *M P C*, X, 297-298.
- 100 Hamilton to Haldimand, St. Vincennes, December 18, 1778, in *I H C*, I, 227-235.
- 101 Substance of a Conference with the Indians, St. Vincennes, January 26, 1779, in *ibid.*, 394-397; and Hamilton to Haldimand, St. Vincennes, January 24, 1779, in *ibid.*, 389-393.
- 102 Return of the Troops &c under the command of Lieut. Governor Hamilton at Poste Vincennes the 24th of December 1778: and Return of the State of his Majesty's Garrison of Fort Sackville 30th January 1779, in Canadian Archives, B 122, 253, and 287-288. Norman McLeod was a captain of the volunteer militia of Detroit which accompanied Hamilton to Vincennes.
- 103 James, *Clark Papers*, I, 231, and Hamilton's "Journal," February 22, 1779.
- 104 "Journal," February 25, 1779; James, *Clark Papers*, I, 132-133, 265-266.
- 105 "Journal," December 28, 1778.
- 106 James, *Life of Clark*, 136-142; James, *Clark Papers*, I, 138-141, 269-280.
- 107 "Journal," February 22, 1779.
- 108 *Ibid.*, February 23, 1779; for the number of Indians killed see John

- Rogers to Jonathan Clark, May 6, 1779, in James, *Clark Papers*, I, 316.
- 109 The progress of the negotiations may be followed in Hamilton's "Journal" and in Clark's "Letter to Mason," in James, *Clark Papers*, I, 143-145.
- 110 James, *Life of Clark*, 143, 145; James, *Clark Papers*, I, 289. John Rogers (see note 108) wrote that Clark had 130 men, but Clark, who should have known gave the larger figure. James, *Clark Papers*, I, 139, 269.
- 111 "Journal," February 25, 1779.
- 112 James, *Clark Papers*, I, 289.
- 113 "Journal," March 5, 1779.
- 114 James, *Clark Papers*, I, 146, and 290.
- 115 *Ibid.*, 110-112; and "Journal," March 5, 1779. The various reports do not agree, Major Hay listed thirty-three, and only twenty-six were listed at the Falls.
- 116 "Journal," March 5 and 8, 1779; James, *Clark Papers*, I, 112-113. A briefer account of the journey and imprisonment is found in [Lieutenant Jacob Schieffelin], "Narrative of Gov. Henry Hamilton. Loose Notes on the Proceedings and Sufferings of Henry Hamilton, Esq., Governor of Le Detroit with the Party that accompanied him from that Post to their Imprisonment in Rebel Goal at Williamsburg, Virginia. *From the Royal Gazette, July 15, 1780,*" in *The Magazine of American History* (30 vols., New York, 1877-1893), I, 186-193.
- 117 It is difficult to identify the individuals who entertained Hamilton on his way to Virginia. Robert L. Kincaid, *The Wilderness Road* (Indianapolis, Indiana, c. 1947), 143, 148, note 6, thinks that Captain Thomas Madison may have been the Madison who kept him over night. General Lewis may have been General Aaron Lewis and Colonel Shelby may have been Evan Shelby who was a colonel in the Washington County Militia and who had been prominent in Dunmore's War.
- 118 Colonel Arthur Campbell lived at Royal Oak about halfway between Abingdon and Wytheville, Virginia.
- 119 Colonel William Ingles, who operated the ferry over New River, was a famous frontiersman of the Valley.
- 120 *Letters and Memoirs relating to the War of American Independence*, by Madame de Riedesel (translated from the original German, New York, 1827). Major General William Phillips was also captured with Burgoyne at Saratoga.
- 121 *In Council June 16, 1779, attest J. Archibald Blair, C.C.* (Williamsburg, n.d.), in Canadian Archives, B 122, 355-360.
- 122 John Dodge to Philip Boyle, St. Duski [Sandusky], July 13, 1779, in Canadian Archives, B 122, 368.
- 123 Jefferson to Washington, Williamsburg, Virginia, July 17, 1779, in

- Paul L. Ford (ed.), *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (9 vols., New York, 1892-1898), II (1893), 246-248.
- 124 Jefferson to the Governor of Canada, Williamsburg, Virginia, July 22, 1779, in *ibid.*, II, 248-256. The editor thought that Guy Carleton was governor of Canada in 1779. The letter is also printed in the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I, 321-324, under the heading "Gov: Jefferson to the Governor of Detroit."
  - 125 Washington to Jefferson, Headquarters, New Windsor, July 10 1779, in John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings of Washington* (39 vols., Washington, 1931-1944), XV (1936), 401.
  - 126 Washington to Jefferson, West Point, August 6, 1779, in *ibid.*, XVI (1937), 68-69.
  - 127 James, *Clark Papers*, I, 198-201.
  - 128 Jefferson to Washington, Williamsburg, October 1, 1779, in Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, II, 258-259; Jefferson to Washington, Williamsburg, October 2, 1779, in *ibid.*, 259-260; Jefferson to Washington, In Council, October 8, 1779, in *ibid.*, 260-261; Philip Dejean and Guillaume La Mothe to Colonel Innes, Williamsburg Jail, October 11, 1779, on pages preceding Hamilton's Journal; and Washington to Jefferson, Head Quarters, West Point, November 23, 1779, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XVII (1937), 166-167.
  - 129 Washington to Jefferson, Head Quarters, West Point, September 13, 1779, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XVI, 272; Washington to Major General Robert Howe, Head Quarters, West Point, September 22, 1779, in *ibid.*, 319.
  - 130 Jefferson to Washington, Williamsburg, October 2, 1779, in Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, II, 259-260.
  - 131 Jefferson to Colonel George Mathews, In Council, October 8, 1779, in *ibid.*, 261-264; Washington to Jefferson, Head Quarters, West Point, November 23, 1779, in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XVII, 166-167.
  - 132 James, *Clark Papers*, I, 203.
  - 133 Numerous letters on this subject are printed in Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, vols. XVII-XX. The quotation is from Washington to Lieutenant Colonel Dubuysson, Head Quarters Precaness, October 10, 1780, in XX (1937), 144-145. Other letters are in Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, II. See also *Journals of Congress*, XIV, 985.
  - 134 James, *Clark Papers*, I, 203-207. A statement of Hamilton expressing his reasons for not signing the earlier paroles is found in the back of his Journal. It was written in Chesterfield Jail and signed September 27, 1780. The parole is printed in the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I, 378.
  - 135 Colonel Mason Bolton was in command at Niagara from whence Iroquois Indians were sent to attack the Pennsylvania and Virginia

- frontiers during the Revolution. Fort Niagara gave protection to the lake route to Detroit and the West and served as a forwarding point for trade goods and supplies. The letters were probably those of August 8 to Germain and Carleton. See *ante* note 62.
- 136 These papers are printed in *M P C*, IX, 464-473. The "Dunmore" was a schooner built in 1772 for the small British fleet on the Great Lakes. Milo M. Quaife, "The Royal Navy of the Upper Lakes," in the Burton Historical Collection *Leaflet*, II, No. 5 (May, 1924), 49-64.
  - 137 These letters were dated August 2, 6, and 10, 1778, *M P C*, IX, 398-402. See Hamilton to Haldimand, September 9, 1778, in *ibid.*, 473.
  - 138 According to letters written at this time Antoine Bellefeuille came on the eighth, and a Captain Betton brought the letters on the fifteenth. The letters which came on the fifteenth were Haldimand's of August 26 and 27, which Hamilton interpreted as authorizing his expedition. See *ibid.*, 402-404, 473, 484, and 647-648.
  - 139 The letter to Haldimand is in *ibid.*, 475-477. It notified him of Hamilton's intention of attacking Clark. The letter to Cramahé is in *ibid.*, 463-464.
  - 140 Major Carleton was a nephew of the Governor.
  - 141 This was probably Paul Joseph Le Moine, Chevalier de Longueuil, who had been in command at Detroit for the French, 1743-1748 and who was known as the fourth baron.
  - 142 This is an interesting point! Did Clark have inside help in taking Kaskaskia? Intimation of the design of the Americans before June 9 would indicate that someone expected him.
  - 143 Charles Gouin was a lieutenant of the militia at Detroit. *Ibid.*, 473. Hamilton's "Journal" indicates that Gouin accompanied the expedition at least to the Miamis.
  - 144 The number of boats and carts which were used on the expedition are given in *M P C*, IX, 409.
  - 145 The minutes of a council with these tribes on the twenty-fourth are printed in *ibid.*, 482-483. The four tribes mentioned had been closely associated for many years and had lived at different places along the shores of the upper lakes. Probably all of them had a village or villages in the vicinity of Detroit. They had been friendly with the French but after the uprising in 1763 they transferred their allegiance to the English. They co-operated loyally with Hamilton during his journey to Vincennes. He described Sastaharitzé on the next to the last page of his Journal, as the nominal prince of the Huron or Wyandot Indians, as a well disposed man who was easily led, given to liquor, and as not attended to in his Nation other than as hereditary chief. He was about thirty-eight years of age. S. Bellin, *Le Petit Atlas, Recueil de Cartes et Plans des Quatre Parties du Monde, Premier Volume Contenant L'Amerique Septentrionale et Les Isles Antilles* (Paris, 1764), Map No. 12.



- 146 Bloody Bridge was the bridge over Bloody Run, the scene of the defeat of Captain James Dalyell during the Indian uprising of 1763. Howard H. Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1947), 201-209. St. Bernard's was probably the farm of a well-known family north of the village on the Northeast Coast.
- 147 Wyndeego, possibly Windigo, a Potawatomi chief, was present at a council in Detroit, June 14, 1778, before accompanying Hamilton to Vincennes. His name was annexed to a grant of land as a Potawatomi chief on June 28, 1780, and Windigo, a Potawatomi chief, attached his mark to the Treaty of Fort Harmar. *M P C*, IX, 442-443; Quaife, *John Askin Papers*, I, 175; and *Treaties between the United States of America and the several Indian Tribes, from 1778 to 1837* (Washington, 1837), 23-28.
- 148 Alexander McKee was a native of Pennsylvania who remained loyal to the King. He fled from Pittsburgh, March 28, 1778, with Simon Girty and Matthew Elliott. At this time he was a captain in the Indian Department. He led expeditions against the American frontiers. *M P C*, IX, 470, and Consul W. Butterfield, *History of the Girtys* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1890), 43-53. The Shawnee were located along the Scioto and Miami rivers from whence they raided the Kentucky, Virginia, and Pennsylvania frontiers sometimes under leaders appointed by Hamilton. They were a vigorous warlike tribe. Hamilton's "Journal" reflects some of this warfare.
- 149 The letters referred to are printed in *M P C*, X, 297-298. One was an appeal by the Virginians to help them against the British.
- 150 The Wabash Indians included the Piankashaw, Kickapoo, Wea, and Miami tribes. The Piankashaw lived along the Wabash from Vincennes to the mouth of the Vermillion River. The Kickapoo lived at the mouth of the Vermillion and westward into Illinois. The Wea were at Ouiatenon, while the Miami were along the upper Wabash. These tribes were not as loyal to the British as were the Lake Indians.
- 151 The carrying place was the portage between the Maumee and Wabash rivers.
- 152 Canadian Archives, B 121, 199-200.
- 153 Some of these items were printed in *M P C*, IX, 409, 482-485, and X, 297-298.
- 154 Captain Henry Bird was an officer in the Eighth or King's Regiment. He was active in the British service during the Revolution. He is known as the leader of the expedition which captured Martin's and Ruddell's stations in Kentucky in 1780.
- 155 Riviere Rouge, which flows into the Detroit River at the southern edge of modern Detroit, is the river which Henry Ford has made so well known.
- 156 This was the famous attack on Boonesborough, Kentucky.
- 157 Celoron Island, which was named after Pierre Joseph Celoron de

- Blainville, lies at the mouth of the Detroit River. See *ante* note 69 and Quaife and Glazer, *Michigan*, 79.
- 158 Old Raccoon, a chief of the Chippewa Indians, went on the Vincennes expedition. On December 24, he was referred to as Wabangay.
  - 159 Rock River flows into the western end of Lake Erie between River Raisin and River Huron according to *Patrick McNiff's Plan of Settlement of Detroit, 1796, reproduced from the Original Manuscript in the Clements Library* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1946).
  - 160 Bellin, *Le Petit Atlas*, I, map 6, locates Baye Dononquise at the western end of Lake Erie just above the mouth of the Maumee River. Jean B.B. d'Anville, *Canada, Louisiane, et Terres Angloises* ([Paris], 1775), also gives this bay. The river which Hamilton called the Miamis is the one now known as the Maumee. The Wyndatts were Wyandot or Huron Indians.
  - 161 *McNiff's Plan of the Settlement of Detroit, 1796*, gives Pointe au Chene on the north side of the mouth of the Maumee where it flows into Maumee Bay.
  - 162 Riviere a L'Anguille is the Eel River of Indiana. See Hamilton's entries for November 19, 21, and 24.
  - 163 This name is not clear. It seems to have been written poorly elsewhere and has been transposed as Shourd, Shrowd, and Howe. *M P C*, IX, 491, 493.
  - 164 On the last page of Hamilton's Journal is a list of four Indians "given to" Hamilton. "Mohingan, the Wolf" was given by the Ottawa. In Hamilton's entry for December 23, there is this remark: "My Son Mahingan the young Ottawa chief, who had followed me from the pointe aux Chesnes tho' very ill . . . ."
  - 165 Captain Alexander Grant was commander of the fleet on the Great Lakes between Niagara and Michilmackinac.
  - 166 Petit Rocher is not identified on contemporary maps. It may have been another rocky point near Rocher de Bout. It seems likely that Hamilton did not get as far as Rocher de Bout the first day's travel up the rapids.
  - 167 Macutté Wassong or Warsong was a Chippewa chief. Thomas Morris referred to him as the great Chippewa chief. See Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, I, 303.
  - 168 Rocher de Bout was a rocky point projecting into the Maumee River above the site of General Anthony Wayne's victory of Fallen Timbers in 1794. Milo Quaife, "A Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier," in Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1914 (Madison, 1915), 215, note 6.
  - 169 Neegik is not mentioned again in the Journal. Since he was a brother of Chaminatawa, he must have been an Ottawa. His name may be translated as The Otter.
  - 170 Gros Loup was a Miami chief who was with Hamilton along the upper Maumee, but who did not accompany him to Vincennes.

- 171 There is a speech of Lagesse, which was made in 1792, in *A S P, Indian Affairs*, I, 241, in which he claimed to be the "first and great chief" of the Potawatomi. Major Hamtramck to Rufus Putnam, August 9, 1792, refers to the son of this chief. *Ibid.*, 241.
- 172 Wassanagnaa was one of the few Potawatomi chiefs mentioned by Hamilton. Only Wyndeego, whose branch of the tribe lived along the St. Joseph River near Lake Michigan, figured prominently in the expedition.
- 173 Agusheway, sometimes Egushewai, was head chief of the Ottawa who lived near Detroit. He was wounded at Fort Recovery in 1794, took part in the battle of Fallen Timbers, and signed the Treaty of Greenville. *A S P, Indian Affairs*, I, 566; *Treaties between the United States . . . and the several Indian Tribes, 1778-1837*, pp. 54-63; and Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 10, n. 29. He was mentioned many times by Hamilton.
- 174 Prairie de Mascoutens is given by DuVernet, Sketch of the River Miamis, as three leagues or approximately nine miles above Grand Rapids.
- 175 Pacane, the Nut, was the head chief of the Miami. His village was Kekionga on the St. Joseph River, at the site of Fort Wayne. He was succeeded by Little Turtle and he in turn by Jean Baptiste Richardville who was a nephew of Pacane. Thomas Morris referred to him in 1764 as "king of the Miami nation" and as just out of his minority. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, I, 316-317; Quaife, "Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier," in *W H S P*, 1914, p. 223 and n. 30; Elmore Barce, *The Land of the Miamis* (Fowler, Indiana, 1922), 48 *et passim*. Hibon was not mentioned again in this Journal. The Isles de Maima may be the "I. de Mama" of DuVernet's map. If this is correct, Hamilton encamped the night before near the Grand Rapid.
- 176 L'isle aux Aigles was about eight miles below the mouth of the Grande Glaize, which we know as the Auglaize River, the principal tributary of the Maumee, which flows into the latter at Defiance, Ohio. The pays plat or the flat country was the twenty-five miles below the mouth of the Auglaize.
- 177 See *ante*, n. 76. Le Marais de l'Orme, or the marsh of the elms, was about one-third the distance between the mouth of the Auglaize and the source of the Maumee, or between Defiance and Fort Wayne. See DuVernet's map mentioned *ante*, note 78.
- 178 Kushaghking, Coshocton, or Goschachgunk was the chief town of the Turtle clan of the Delaware Indians, 1775 to 1781. It was located at the forks of the Muskingum and Tuscarawas rivers. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 46, n. 73.
- 179 See *ante*, 45.
- 180 The Petit Gris was a prominent Miami chief whose village was on the west bank of the St. Joseph. Hamilton wrote on November 15

- that the French called him Le Petit Gris, the English the dappled fawn, and the Miami Waspikingua or Necaquangai. See *A S P, Indian Affairs*, I, 93-94, 565; and Quaife, "Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier," in *W H S P*, 1914, p. 221, n. 30. Gros Loup was another Miami chief.
- 181 The Great Couette agreed to a grant of land in 1775 as a Piankashaw chief. *A S P, Indian Affairs*, I, 338-339.
- 182 Hamilton to Haldimand, Miami town, October 28, 1778, in *I H C*, I, 359-360.
- 183 These Potawatomi lived along the St. Joseph River of the Lake where Louis Chevalier had his trading post.
- 184 The Shawnee towns were on the Great Miami and Scioto rivers. Peter Lorimier or Laramie had a post on Loramie's Creek near the start of the portage between the Great Miami and the St. Marys River. He was an agent for the British. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 144, n. 49.
- 185 The Little River is sometimes called the Little Wabash. Hamilton to Haldimand, Camp at Petite Riviere, November 1, 1778, in *W H C*, XI, 178-181.
- 186 Chemin couvert means covered way. It was in the southwestern corner of present Allen County, Indiana.
- 187 The riviere à boete is the modern Aboite. The early surveyors' maps show a widening of the Little River in the southwestern corner of Allen County and their notes indicate that the southern boundary of section 26 was swampy. This was probably the location of the swamp which Hamilton called "les Volets." He probably meant he had come ten miles since leaving the western end of the portage.
- 188 On December 9, Hamilton referred to the White Fish as an old Shawnee chief. He accompanied Hamilton to Vincennes. The space within the parenthesis is blank.
- 189 Riviere a l'Anglais is probably a form of Langlois, the name of an early trader. Langlois Creek flows into Little River a short distance below the mouth of the Aboite.
- 190 This was five or six miles east of the forks of the Wabash where the Little River reaches bed rock.
- 191 The forks of the Wabash is the junction of the Little River and the Wabash.
- 192 A reconnoitering party.
- 193 The Salamonie is the first important tributary of the Wabash River below the forks. Thomas Hutchins, *A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina . . .* (London, 1778), erroneously drew it as a northern tributary. Apparently Hamilton encamped near the sloping maple or l'Erable penchée, which may have been below the forks of the Wabash in section 14, township 28 north, range 8 east, there are rapids in the Wabash which Hamilton may have referred to at this point.



- 194 This may have been Hanging Rock two miles from the present town of Lagro. If this is true, he may have camped somewhere near the site of Lagro on the night of November 16. The rock is nearly 80 feet high.
- 195 The Mississinewa River is the second important tributary of the Wabash below the forks. Hamilton was in error when he wrote that it was on the northeastern side.
- 196 Hutchins drew the Calumet River on his *New Map* (1778), as flowing into the Wabash from the north between the Eel and the Mississinewa. It is also shown on a manuscript map in the Clements Library entitled: North America east of the Mississippi. The encampment for November 18-24 was near the mouth of Eel River or present day Logansport. There were several Indian villages in the vicinity.
- 197 Riviere à l'Anguille is the modern Eel River.
- 198 Ouiat is an abbreviation of Ouiatenon, one of the early French forts and trading posts, around which the Wea, Ouiatenon, or Ouia Indians were located. It was located approximately four miles south of modern Lafayette, Indiana, on the west bank of the Wabash and below the mouth of Tippecanoe River. See also Hamilton to Haldimand, Ouiatenon, December 4, 1778, in *I H C*, I, 220-225.
- 199 This is the modern Tippecanoe River.
- 200 The Piankashaw contract was the sale of two large tracts of land along the Wabash River to the Wabash Land Company by the Piankashaw Indians.
- 201 Jacob P. Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans* (5 vols., Chicago, 1919), I, 89, gives the name as Kenapacomaqua. Aaron Arrowsmith, *Map of Northern United States and Canada* (London, 1798, additions to 1802), gives Eel Town or Kenapacomaqua or Languille of the French.
- 202 William Ball, president of the Cass County, Indiana, Historical Society, and Robert B. Whitsett of the L'Anguille Valley Historical Society, Logansport, Indiana, have identified this bluff, of which Hamilton made a sketch, as Rock Cliff at the east end of Cedar Island upon which the Logansport Country Club has its club house.
- 203 The Wabash falls 20 feet in 4 miles from 3 miles above to 1 mile below the mouth of Eel River.
- 204 Hutchins, *A New Map* (1778), shows a "Riv. de Petit Rocher" flowing into the Wabash from the north a short distance below the mouth of Eel River. The location corresponds roughly with Hamilton's Petit Rocher. The surveyor's map shows a rocky ledge five miles below the mouth of Eel.
- 205 Evidently this island was close to the Petit Rocher, but it is not shown on the maps. Hamilton probably made little progress on the twenty-fifth.
- 206 "The Isle of Garlic," or l'isle a l'ail, is located approximately four

- miles above Delphi, Indiana, or some ten miles above the mouth of Tippecanoe River.
- 207 Hutchins, *A New Map* (1778), locates a mine on the north bank of the Wabash a few miles above the mouth of the Tippecanoe River. Hamilton's ideas about the source of the Tippecanoe and the settling of the country were quite erroneous.
- 208 The Indian princess was described by Hamilton in the entry for December 2. "Teized" is a variation of tease, to tear apart.
- 209 Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana from its Exploration to 1850* (Indianapolis, 1915), 34, stated that it was destroyed by the Indians and that it was not rebuilt. He seems to have meant that it was destroyed in 1763.
- 210 Kissingua was later sent from Vincennes on a mission to John Stuart, the Indian agent of the southern department.
- 211 Quiquapouhquáa was probably a Kickapoo chief. He brought the flag to Hamilton three days later, and went part of the way at least to Vincennes.
- 212 Little Face was a Wea or Ouiatenon chief who accompanied Hamilton to Vincennes.
- 213 LaNatte's son-in-law was Tuette who was mentioned in the entry for December 3. Neither one was mentioned as having gone to Vincennes.
- 214 This was a short sword. Quiquaboe should be understood as Kickapoo.
- 215 There was a Kickapoo village a short distance south of Ouiatenon.
- 216 Forgeron is not mentioned again so presumably he did not go to Vincennes.
- 217 The Vermillion River flows into the Wabash from the northwest. As the Kickapoo lived along its banks, this village was probably a Kickapoo village. Hamilton must have camped on the east bank of the Wabash nearly opposite to the present town of Newport, Indiana.
- 218 This is not far from the site of Terre Haute.
- 219 La Mouche Noire lived very near Vincennes, but was not mentioned again.
- 220 Lieutenant Michel Brouilet was an officer of the Vincennes militia. James, *Clark Papers*, I, 56, and 91.
- 221 This oath is given in Hamilton's "Report" to Governor Haldimand in French and in somewhat different translation. See James, *Clark Papers*, I, 183.
- 222 This is the modern White River.
- 223 This is another reference to the Wabash Land Company's purchase. It is interesting to note that Hamilton knew of Lord Dunmore's connection with it.
- 224 The modern Tennessee River was then sometimes called the Cherokee River.
- 225 This is Francis Vigo.
- 226 Eskibee is mentioned as a Potawatomie chief on January 28, 1779.

- 227 These men were Sieur Janis and Gabriel Cerré who had already made peace with Clark. See James, *Clark Papers*, I, 47-49, 228-229, 235-237, 361.
- 228 This was an attempt to overcome the traditional and long-standing hostilities between the Shawnee and the Southern Indians.
- 229 From December 15 to 30, the "Journal" is supplemented by Hamilton to Haldimand, St. Vincennes, December 18 [to 28], 1778, in *I H C*, I, 227-235. The prices of provision are given in Canadian Archives, B 122, 254, the plan of Fort Sackville on 251a, the return of the troops on 253, and the placart on 233, but the census seems not to have been preserved.
- 230 Little River must have been the little stream just north and east of Vincennes. Hamilton said its distance from the village was two miles. It is shown by Hutchins, *A New Map . . . 1778*.
- 231 See *ante*, note 229.
- 232 The abbreviations stand for "nothing extraordinary."
- 233 For Father Gibault see *ante*, note 63.
- 234 The Delaware received permission from the Miami and the Piankashaw to settle between the Ohio and White rivers about 1770.
- 235 The extent of exaggeration in this report may be estimated after reading Clark's account in James, *Clark Papers*, I, 132-133, 265-266.
- 236 Hamilton to His Excellency, Don Bernardo de Galvis, St. Vincennes, January 13, 1779, in *I H C*, I, 377-378.
- 237 Matthew Elliott was a native of Ireland who came to Pennsylvania at an early age. He entered the Indian trade and became very influential among the Shawnee. He was a captain in the British Indian department after March 28, 1778, and was active against the American frontiers. See Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 249, note 5.
- 238 Patte de Dinde, or Turkey Foot, was located on the Maumee River about five miles above the Grand Rapids. See DuVernet's Sketch of the Miamis River.
- 239 Substance of a Conference with the Indians, St. Vincennes, January 26, 1779, in *I H C*, I, 394-397. See also Hamilton to Haldimand, St. Vincennes, January 24, 1779, in *ibid.*, 389-393.
- 240 This William Williams was a brother of Captain John Williams of Clark's expedition, who was not so kind to Hamilton's Indians. Hamilton's kindness was misplaced in this instance. James, *Clark Papers*, I, 323, 326, 354. See *post* February 11, 1779, for William Williams' escape.
- 241 Nicaquongai was the Miami for Le Petit Gris, a prominent chief of the Miami. See *ante*, note 180.
- 242 Captain Hugh Lord was commandant of the Illinois villages from 1772 to 1776. The abbreviations refer to Louis XV and George III.
- 243 Lieutenant Joseph Bondy was an officer of the Indian department who accompanied Hamilton. See *M P C*, IX, 485. For Raimbault see

post, note 252.

244 Jean Baptiste Romain *dit* Sanscrainte was probably the younger man of that name. J. Robert was listed as belonging to La Mothe's Volunteers. James, *Clark Papers*, I, 111.

245 The riviere aux embarras is the Embarrass River of Illinois which empties into the Wabash a short distance below Vincennes.

246 This is a reference to the battle of Ushant, July 27, 1778, between Admiral Augustus, Viscount Keppel and Admiral the Comte d'Orvilliers. See William L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy* (7 vols., London, 1897-1903), III (1898), 412-426.

247 These messages are given in "Journal of Joseph Bowman," in James, *Clark Papers*, I, 160-161, but the wording varies considerably. See also *ibid.*, 165-166, 187, and 285. Hamilton does not mention his request for a truce of three days.

248 See *ibid.*, 281.

249 The terms are given on page 19 of the Journal. Since they differ somewhat from the terms as stated by James, they are given in full.

"Proposals sent from Lieutt. Govr. Hamilton to Colonel Clarke previous to the surrender of Fort Sackville February 24th 1779—Lieutenant Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clarke Fort Sackville as it is at present with all the stores, ammunition and provision, reserving only thirty six rounds of powder and Ball per man, and a sufficiency of provision for the subsistence of the garrison for their progress by land or water as shall hereafter be agreed upon—

"The garrison are to deliver themselves up prisoners of war, and to march out with their arms accoutrements and Knapsacks—

"A Guide, or guides to be furnished by Colonel Clarke, with a safeguard to escort the garrison to its destination, as also horses for the transport of provision, should the garrison march by land—

"The garrison not to be delivered up, till a person employed by Colonel Clarke, shall have received an account of stores & *ca*

"Three days to be allowed the garrison, from time of signing the articles of capitulation, for providing shoes and other necessaries for the journey (if by land) and for baking bread, as also for settling accounts with the traders of the post—

"Officers, or others of the garrison who have families, to be allowed to return to their homes, on promise of not acting during the present contest between Great Britain and America.

"Sick and wounded are recommended to the humanity and generosity of Colonel Clarke, any charges incurred by them to be discharged by Lieutt. Govr. Hamilton, who will leave a draft for fifty pounds (New York Currency) for their use—

"Officers to take their private baggage—

Henry Hamilton

Signed at Fort Sackville"



- 250 This is mentioned in Bowman's Journal in James, *Clark Papers*, I, 162.
- 251 What countenance the Governor maintains.
- 252 Raimbault was a trader who lived at Ouiatenon. He was apparently trying to redeem his reputation with Hamilton when he was captured by some of Clark's men. See Hamilton's Journal for November 30, and December 1, 1778.
- 253 See *ante*, 71-72, 166-167.
- 254 The persons referred to were Charles Langlade and Charles Gautier. See *ante*, 61-62.
- 255 James, *Clark Papers*, I, 305-306, 309-310.
- 256 See *ante*, 18-19.
- 257 These men were Captain William Williams and Lieutenant John Rogers.
- 258 Green River flows into the Ohio from the south a short distance upstream from Evansville, Indiana.
- 259 These abbreviations seem to mean "nothing extraordinary."
- 260 This was Captain William Harrod who had been one of Clark's captains in the Illinois campaign. He was a brother of James Harrod. He was at this time in command of the fort at the Falls of the Ohio. See English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio*, I, 122-123, *et passim*.
- 261 C. C. probably refers to Colonel Clark.
- 262 Harrodsburg was the first village founded in the Kentucky Blue Grass and one of the villages that had felt seriously Hamilton's war on the American frontier.
- 263 This messenger was William Myers, Moires, or Moyers. See James, *Clark Papers*, I, 305-306 and note, 309-310.
- 264 Colonel John Bowman was the county-lieutenant of the county of Kentucky and a brother of two of Clark's men, Joseph and Isaac Bowman. He was a resident of Harrodsburg.
- 265 Logan's Fort or station was one of the earliest settlements in the Kentucky Blue Grass. The location on which it was established by Colonel Benjamin Logan is today within the city of Stanford, Kentucky. It was also called St. Asaph. Colonel Benjamin Logan resided at St. Asaph or Logan's Fort. He was a leader in the warfare of the day and later in the formation of the state of Kentucky.
- 266 William Whitley built a large brick house at an early date between Logan's Fort and the Crab Orchard. This was called Whitley's Fort.
- 267 This stream was known as Skaags Creek, although Hamilton wrote Craggs. It flowed into Rockcastle River near the Hazel Patch.
- 268 The crossing of Rockcastle River was near the Hazel Patch.
- 269 This was Colonel Richard Calloway, an early pioneer of Kentucky who was killed by the Indians within a year of the time Hamilton made this journey.
- 270 Stinking Creek flows into Cumberland River in the vicinity of Big Flat Lick, to which Hamilton referred, and where Boone's Trace left

the Warriors' Path. The two traces followed the same route from Cumberland Gap northward to the far side of Cumberland River at the lick.

- 271 When Hamilton passed Cumberland Mountain, he crossed Cumberland Gap into Powell Valley and proceeded northeastwardly along Powell River.
- 272 These objects of natural beauty are in the vicinity of modern Jonesville, Virginia. Unfortunately these sketches seem to have been lost.
- 273 Powell Mountain is the watershed between Powell River and Clinch River, both of which rise in southwestern Virginia and eventually join their waters with the Holston and other streams to form the Tennessee River.
- 274 Moccasin Gap brought the travelers through Clinch Mountain into the valley of the North Fork of the Holston. Hamilton's terminology seems a little confused at this point but he proceeded to the vicinity of modern Bristol.
- 275 General Lewis may have been General Aaron Lewis and Major Bletsoe was Major Anthony Bledsoe who lived near Sapling Grove or the present Bristol.
- 276 Hamilton was now east of the Blue Ridge.
- 277 The restoration of Williamsburg offers the visitor the opportunity to see the buildings of the colonial capital and the rooms of the jail to which Hamilton referred.

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